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ABSTRACT

This book presents simulation activities for the eight profiles of U.S. Senators presented in John F. Kennedy's "Profiles in Courage." Intended for student involvement, the simulations require student research and practice in order to carry out the designated roles. The simulations and role play are designed to actively involve the students in learning, using both the affective and cognitive domains. Each simulation exercise includes an introduction, objectives, and strategy (preparation, introduction, simulation, steps to follow, role cards, review, summarization, and reinforcement). The simulations focus on: (1) John Quincy Adams; (2) Daniel Webster; (3) Thomas Hart Benton; (4) Sam Houston; (5) Edmund G. Ross; (6) Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar; (7) George Norris; and (8) Robert A. Taft. (EH)

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PROFILES IN COURAGE
Simulations

Based on
President John F. Kennedy's
Pulitzer Prize Book

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John Quincy Adams

Daniel Webster

Thomas Hart Benton

Sam Houston

Edmund G. Ross

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by
Richard W. Hostrop, Ph.D.

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Comments are welcomed by the author to suggest any changes which might improve any of the *Profiles In Courage* Simulations. Future editions will incorporate desirable suggested changes made by users of these Simulations. Reporting positive results from Simulations conducted and any other comments would also be much appreciated by the author. Send comments to:

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INTRODUCTION

John F. Kennedy wrote in his book, *Profiles in Courage*, that the most admirable of human virtues is *courage*. His book includes the stories of the pressures experienced by eight United States Senators and "...the grace with which they endured them—the risks to their careers, the unpopularity of their courses, the defamation of their characters, and sometimes, but sadly only sometimes, the vindication of their reputations and their principles."

In order to best understand the profoundness of the contributions of these eight Senators to our nation, President Kennedy's stories have been put in Simulation form. Why in Simulation form? Read on.

The difference between Simulations and other forms of presenting cognitive materials is that Simulations result in *visceral* involvement. The lecture method, systems approach (programmed learning materials, tapes, computers, etc.) do not. In both the lecture method and the systems approach, students do not feel *emotionally committed* to their learning. Retention of "facts" is less in situations in which the student is not emotionally as well as intellectually involved. Certainly, all of us recall more vividly those events in our lives in which we were deeply, emotionally involved than in those events in which we had only a dispassionate, intellectual interest. Through the Simulation method, understanding of history and political science becomes internalized as no other methodology can—the affective as well as the cognitive domains energize each other into a complementary synergistic result.

Simulations require that a student intensively research an assigned role and relate his role to other assigned roles in the Simulation. A student evaluation of a Simulation conducted by the author on the *Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson* summarizes well the rationale for Simulations. The student stated in her evaluation:

"I can see why Wade, the President of the House pro tem, was so eager for the impeachment. He wanted to become President and had already selected a Cabinet.

"Lots of Senators were biased in their votes for impeachment because they had to think of the pressure that constituents were exerting, and that they might not be reelected the next term.

"I learned what impeachment means, where it originates, in the House, and where the case is tried, in the Senate. I also learned that it takes a two-thirds majority and that the whole system of government was on trial.

"I had better insight into what was happening in this period through the Simulation.

"This method brings about far more class participation than conventional methods.

"What you learn through a Simulation sticks with you better. A year from now we wouldn't remember a lecture on the impeachment of Johnson, but a year from now we will still vividly recall and understand the lessons we have learned through the Simulation. In fact, I know for myself I will never forget the lesson because of the Simulation technique. Because we were involved, we will remember."

Simulations are the best teaching techniques known in teaching history and political science topics in which *conflict* is the major element. Where conflict is *not* the major element, more traditional methods are a more efficient way of presenting the material. John F. Kennedy's Pulitzer Prize *Profiles in Courage* book is loaded with conflicts, thus these conflicts are presented in Simulation form.

Occasionally, you will find that a Simulation does *not* turn out as it historically should because one or more persons did not properly play his/her/their role. This is not a loss. Quite the contrary, take advantage of such situations by discussing what the consequences would have been for the country if the reverse of history had occurred.

Once the author of these Simulations, in conducting a Simulation concerned with the "Southern Secession from the Union," found the class in a situation in which Florida did *not* secede as it historically should have. The "Florida Legislators" knew that historically they were supposed to secede along with other Southern states, but now they had to face up "what to do" since they hadn't. They continued to extemporaneously act out their roles as Florida Legislators, but then had to reconcile how they would relate to the rest of the South and the Union—their deliberations had the rest of the Simulation participants and the instructor at the edge of their seats as these Florida Legislators wrestled with these unexpected circumstances. It was one of the best Simulations the author ever conducted. Much learning took place in this "what if" situation. Make good use if and when such an opportunity should occur.

PART ONE

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

Part One includes just one Simulation—the Simulation of John Quincy Adams. The Simulation primarily covers the period from 1803 to 1829. The Simulation begins in 1803 when Washington, D.C. was no more than a raw, country village. In the unfinished Capitol sat the Senate of the United States.

The founding fathers conceived that the Senate, unlike the House of Representatives, would be a place sheltered from constituent pressures. A six-year term was, in theory, supposed to shelter Senators from public pressure. The Senate originally acted only as an advisory body to President Washington. But gradually the Senate assumed more of the aspects of a legislative body.

Senators were paid just $6 per day at the Nation's beginning; now Senatorial pay approaches $200,000 annually. Moreover, in the beginning, it was state legislatures that appointed Senators; not a direct popular election by the people of the state. The House overshadowed the Senate in terms of political power during the first three decades of our government. Today, next to the President and State Governors, United States Senators hold the most prestigious political office in the Nation.

* * *

It will be helpful to Simulation participants, as well as to any audience, to have name and title identification cards that are easily visible to all. Such identification cards should be placed where the participants sit or stand for easy identification and to facilitate the Simulation.

An 8 1/2 x 11 inch sheet of heavy paper or cardboard, folded two times lengthwise, makes an acceptable identifier. Simulation participants can be asked to prepare their own identifier.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

INTRODUCTION

John Quincy Adams (1767-1848) was the only son of a President of the United States who also became President. His father, John Adams, was the second President of the United States, he was the sixth.

Prior to becoming President, John Quincy Adams had a distinguished career as a Minister to the Netherlands, later as Minister to Russia, and still later Minister to Great Britain. Just prior to being elected to the Presidency, Adams was appointed Secretary of State.

The Federalists chose Adams to fill a vacant Massachusetts seat in the United States Senate in 1803. Although Adams was a Federalist, he often voted with the Democratic-Republicans. Senator Adams supported the ratification in 1803 (when this Simulation begins) of the Louisiana Purchase made by President Thomas Jefferson.

In 1806, Adams introduced, and successfully had passed in the Senate, a series of resolutions condemning British aggression upon American ships and demanded indemnification and restoration of confiscated merchant ships. The Federalists, on the other hand, solidly opposed such measures as they had decided that appeasement was the only answer to their trading problems. The Federalists wanted to trade with the British, but Adams was opposed, believing the embargo benefitted the nation as a whole. In 1807 Adams completely broke with his Party over the issue of the Embargo Act. Furious, the Massachusetts Federalists appointed another man to his Senate seat several months before the 1808 election.

John Quincy Adams held more important offices and participated in more important events than anyone in the history of our nation.

OBJECTIVES

As participants in the John Quincy Adams Simulation, each student will:

1. Research the historical period in the United States from 1790 to 1848.

2. Research the specific role to which he/she is assigned *and* how the person assigned voted on each of the issues taken up in the Simulation.

3. Actively involve himself/herself extemporaneously in the Simulation. As a consequence, each student will:

1) Study the events that led up to the War of 1812 with Great Britain.
2) Study the events and the pros and cons that led up to the purchase of the Louisiana Territory.
3) Learn about the effects of the Embargo Act of 1807.
4) Learn about the many courageous acts of John Quincy Adams.
5) Consider and debate the consequences of going against majority opinion.

STRATEGY

Introduction

Say to the students that they are to research the historical period from 1790-1848 with respect to the governance of the United States of America.

Further state for this period that students are to particularly study the life of John Quincy Adams, the Louisiana Purchase, the Alien and Sedition Laws, and the Trade Embargo of 1807 against Great Britain.

Tell students that their research will culminate in a Simulation, that it will be "The John Quincy Adams Simulation," based upon John F. Kennedy's Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Profiles in Courage*.

After students have had a sufficient number of days to study their general assignment, assign the following specific roles to those students who are most likely to best fit each role:

George Clinton—Vice-President of the United States and President of the United States Senate

John Quincy Adams—U.S. Senator from Massachusetts

Timothy Pickering—U.S. Senator from Massachusetts

The Narrator (may be the instructor if the Instructor prefers)

Democratic Republican Senators

Federalist Senators

Announce to the class when the Simulation will be conducted, allowing sufficient time to research individual assigned roles.

Prepare role cards for each class member (copies can be made of the roles on a copy machine, if you prefer). It is recommended that on the back of each role card the name of the individual assigned to the role be written in pencil beforehand. This will save considerable time when the Simulation is conducted. Moreover, by simply erasing the names on the role cards after the Simulation has been conducted and role cards returned, they can be used over and over again a number of times without the necessity of preparing a replacement role card.

The Simulation

Ask students to "live" their roles, to become involved and to imagine themselves in the United States Senate in January 1803. State, President Thomas Jefferson's proposed Louisiana Purchase from France is being debated.

Steps to Follow

1. Write on the chalkboard, "United States Senate, January 1803."
2. Pass out Role Card 1 to George Clinton.
3. Pass out Role Card 2 to John Quincy Adams.
4. Pass out Role Card 3 to Timothy Pickering.
5. Pass out Role Card 4 to the Narrator (may be the instructor if the Instructor prefers)
6. Pass out Role Card 5 to the Democratic Republicans (students who otherwise do not have a specific assigned role—four *more* Role Cards than what you pass out to the Federalists).

7. Pass out Role Card 6 to the Federalists (students who otherwise do not have a specific assigned role—four *less* Role Cards than what you pass out to the Democratic Republicans).

8. Sit down. Vice-President George Clinton will commence the Simulation. The class will now extemporaneously carry out the Simulation per their assigned role, directions, and instructions on their role cards.

Monitor the Simulation as the Simulation develops. Take advantage of any unexpected developments. For example, suppose it should somehow turn out that because one or more persons do not follow their role as they should and the Louisiana Purchase is NOT RATIFIED, discuss with the class what the consequences would have been for the United States without the purchase. Even if a Simulation occasionally does not turn out as it historically should, much learning nevertheless can and does occur.

Role 1

Role: George Clinton, President Thomas Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Vice-President...and President of the United States Senate

Time: January 1803 - 1848

Place: United States Senate/House of Representatives

When your instructor sits down, come to the front of the room and state: "The Senate will now come to order. The Chair has been asked to read the following message to Congress from President Jefferson:

"I urge the ratification of the treaty negotiated in 1802 between our representatives to France, Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe, for the purchase from France of the Louisiana Territory for $15,000,000.

"Whilst the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters secure an independent outlet for the produce of the Western States and an uncontrolled navigation through their whole course...the fertility of the country, its climate and extent promise, in due season, important aids to our Treasury, an ample provision for posterity, and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws."

The Chair now recognizes the honorable Senator Pickering of Massachusetts who has risen to speak. After sufficient time has been given to Senator Pickering to speak, next recognize Senator Adams to speak, and then others as they wait to be recognized.

Allow debate to go on over the ratification of the Treaty for the purchase of the **Louisiana Territory** as long as you feel any new points are being made by either side. Then call a halt to the debate and ask for a vote by all the Senators. Declare, "The Treaty for the purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France for $15 million is approved by a vote of 24 to 7."

When the announcement is made, wait for the Narrator to speak.

****

When the Narrator is through making comments concerning the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, write on the chalkboard,

"Proposed **Embargo Act of 1807.**" Then state, "The Senate is called to order this December day to discuss the proposed Embargo Act of 1807 against Great Britain and France."

First recognize Senator Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts to speak. When you believe enough time has been allowed to speak in opposition to the Embargo Act by Senator Pickering and his supporters and you see Senator Adams rise to speak, recognize him and his supporters who will speak in favor of the Embargo.

Let debate go back and forth for a time, then call for a vote for those in favor and those against the Embargo Act of 1807. Then announce that the Embargo Act of 1807 has passed.

Wait for the Narrator to summarize the reasons and effects of the Embargo Act. The Narrator will also conclude the Simulation by summarizing John Quincy Adams' life after the passing of the Embargo Act.

Role 2

Role: John Quincy Adams, Junior United States Senator from Massachusetts

Time: 1803-1848

Place: United States Senate/ House of Representatives

When you believe Timothy Pickering, Senior United States Senator from your own state, and other like-minded Senators, have been given enough time to protest the ratification of the purchase of the **Louisiana Territory**, you rise and ask to be recognized by the President of the Senate, George Clinton (Vice-President of the United States) to speak. When given the floor to speak, you argue that though the purchase of the Louisiana Territory skirted the edges of the Constitution, the Territory was a great bargain and beneficial to the overall good of the nation. You argue for the prompt ratification of the Treaty. Debate any Senator who disagrees with you with facts and reasons.

****

When the President of the Senate, George Clinton, states the issue now before the Senate is to discuss the proposed **Embargo Act of 1807** against Great Britain, the senior Senator from Massachusetts, Timothy Pickering will rise and be recognized. You stand to be recognized to speak by the Chair when you believe Senator Pickering and/or his supporters have had enough time to express their views in opposition to the Embargo Act of 1807. You state it is intolerable for the British to seize American merchant ships and sailors. You angrily ask how any Senator can stand by and accept the latest incident in which the American frigate *Chesapeake* was fired upon off the Virginia Capes by the British man-of-war *Leopard* when the *Chesapeake* captain rightly refused to be searched or to hand over four seamen the British claimed to be British subjects. Moreover, several of the American crew were injured or killed! An embargo is demanded! The President must demand restoration and payment of all confiscated vessels by Great Britain!

Debate with facts and reasons against any Senator who argues against your point of view when other like-minded Senators are not doing so. Continue with the debate until a vote is called for by the President of the Senate.

Role 3

Role: Timothy Pickering, Senior United States Senator from Massachusetts

Time: 1803-1848

Place: United States Senate/ House of Representatives

When the President of the Senate (Vice-President George Clinton) finishes reading the statement from President Jefferson regarding the purchase and request for ratification of the purchase of the **Louisiana Territory** from France, rise to speak. After being recognized by the Chair, you strongly declare to those assembled in the Congress your firm opposition to ratification. You declare it was unconstitutional for the President to make such a purchase in the first place without authorization from Congress. You vigorously urge rejection of the President's request for ratification of the Treaty. Sit down when finished making your presentation, but rise again to be recognized by the Chair to debate any Senator who disagrees with you. Debate with facts and reasons. Only stop debating when other like-minded legislators are debating your position and when the President of the Senate calls for a vote on the Louisiana purchase and ratification issue.

****

When the President of the Senate, George Clinton, states the issue now before the Senate is to discuss the proposed **Embargo Act of 1807** against Great Britain, rise to be recognized. When recognized, fervently state your views as to why there should be no embargo. You state that Massachusetts is the leading commercial state in the nation, that an embargo would be ruinous to Massachusetts and other New England states. Trade with Great Britain is a vital necessity. State that Great Britain is having difficulties with their war against France and has rightful resentment of our nation's friendly attitude toward Great Britain's enemy. It is no wonder that Great Britain stops our ships and takes off British seamen on our ships to help fight the war against France. Point out that France has also seized American ships to search them. Debate with facts and reasons against any Senator who argues against your point of view when other like-minded Senators are not doing so. Continue with the debate until a vote is called for by the President of the Senate.

Role 4

Role: Narrator (may be the instructor if the Instructor prefers)

Time: 1803-1848

Place: United States Senate/ House of Representatives

As soon as the favorable results of ratification of the purchase of the **Louisiana Territory** has been announced by the President of the Senate, rise and state:

"Actually Senator Adams did not take part in the debate due to a late arrival at the Senate because of family illness. However, he was the only Federalist to actively support the $11 million appropriation to effectuate the Treaty. To add fuel to the fire, Senator Adams was *the only Federalist* to attend a banquet of Jeffersonians in celebration of the purchase. Adams' Federalist colleagues were outraged by this perceived 'act of treason' to New England interests which would mean loss of population as many New Englanders (and others) would go West for a better life. Less people meant less business to commercial New England."

****

After the favorable vote for the **Embargo Act of 1807**, state:

"The Embargo Act put pressure mainly on Great Britain and to a lesser degree France. Great Britain and France were at war in 1807, and it was a war that also involved most other European nations. The Act kept the United States out of the war, but it reduced the large profits American merchants had been making by trading with both sides.

"Before 1807, Great Britain and France had been seizing U.S. merchant ships to prevent each other from obtaining American goods. The British also searched these ships for deserters from the British navy and forced them to return to British ships. The British also seized American seamen and forced them to serve in the British navy.

"The embargo lasted for 14 months. It was an unpopular act because it badly hurt the economy. American merchants began to smuggle goods, thus weakening the effectiveness of the Act. In 1809 the embargo was lifted for all nations except Great Britain and France. Three years later, in 1812, the United States went to war against Great Britain.

Continue on: *"John Quincy Adams' strong support for the Embargo Act of 1807 so outraged his fellow Massachusetts Federalists that they replaced him as a United States Senator from Massachusetts eight months before the end of his term."* In those days, it was state legislatures that appointed U.S. Senators, not a direct vote by the people as is true today.

Continue on: In spite of being ousted as U.S. Senator in 1808, John Quincy Adams continued to ably serve his country. In 1809, he was appointed Minister to Russia. From 1814 to 1815 he helped to negotiate a peace treaty with Great Britain, resulting from the War of 1812. And in 1815, with the conclusion of a successful peace treaty between the United States and Great Britain, he was appointed Minister to Great Britain. In 1817, Adams was appointed Secretary of State by President James Monroe. In 1825, John Quincy Adams was elected the sixth President of the United States, the only son of a President (John Adams, the second President of the United States) to also become President. John Quincy Adams was only a single term President. Upon his return to Massachusetts, a year after the end of his Presidency, he was asked to serve as a Congressman. He was elected to Congress in 1830 and served in the House of Representatives until his death in 1848 at the age of 80. Of all the many distinguished roles in government in which John Quincy Adams served, he stated that his most satisfying was serving his state and country as a Congressman."

State:

"This concludes the John Quincy Adams Simulation."

Role 5

Role: Democratic-Republican Senator

Time: 1803-1848

Place: United States Senate/ House of Representatives

You rise to be recognized by the President of the United States Senate to vigorously speak *in favor* of the ratification of the **Louisiana Purchase** when that debate is going on. Debate with facts and reasons.

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You rise to be recognized by the President of the United States Senate to vigorously speak *in favor* of the **Embargo Act of 1807** when that debate is going on. Debate with facts and reasons.

Role 6

Role: Federalist Senator

Time: 1803-1848

Place: United States Senate/ House of Representatives

You rise to be recognized by the President of the United States Senate to vigorously speak *against* the ratification of **Louisiana Purchase** when that debate is going on. Debate with facts and reasons.

****

You rise to be recognized by the President of the United States Senate to vigorously speak *against* the **Embargo Act of 1807** when that debate is going on. Debate with facts and reasons.

Review, Summarization, and Reinforcement

1. Ask the students what they liked about the Simulation.
2. Ask the students how the Simulation could have been improved.
3. Ask the students what they learned from the Simulation.
4. Ask what some of the factors were that gave rise to the Louisiana Purchase.

Uneasy at news that Spain had secretly retroceded Louisiana to aggressive Napoleanic France, President Jefferson in 1802 dispatched Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe to purchase New Orleans and West Florida for $2 million. The French, to whom Louisiana was of diminishing importance, offered to sell the entire territory to the surprised envoys for $15 million [on page 41 of *Profiles in Courage* , John F. Kennedy states: "...(Adams was) the only Federalist...to vote for the $11 million appropriation:."]. Other historians state the purchase price at $12 million. It is not clear if some historians are including or excluding the purchase of West Florida in the purchase price they quote. In any event, the purchase doubled what the size of the United States was in 1803.

5. Ask the students to give their opinions on what the consequences might have been for North America if the Louisiana Purchase had never been made. Let their be a lively, well thought-out discussion on such an event.
6. Ask what events led to the Embargo Act of 1807.

Great Britain and France were at war with one another. Napoleon was trying to conquer all of Europe. Great Britain was trying to stop the French from doing so. President Thomas Jefferson knew that the young and immature United States Republic needed peace and to do so must remain neutral. In their combat, both Great Britain and France struck heavy blows at American commerce. The British acted to cut off rich carrying trade of American ships with products from the French West Indies and to shut them out of practically all of the European coastline. The French ordered the seizure of any American ship which submitted to either British search or landed in a British port. It came to the point where no American ship could trade with any area controlled by France without being seized by the British, and none could trade with Britain without being seized by France! American commercial ships were in a no win situation.

What especially aroused American feeling against the British was the impressment of American seamen. To win the war against France, the British were compelled to build up their navy to a point where it had more than 700 ships and 150,000 sailors and marines. But the men of the fleet were so ill-paid, ill-fed, and ill-handled that it was impossible to obtain crews by free enlistment. Many British sailors deserted and they were particularly glad to find refuge and employment on pleasanter and safer American vessels. In these circumstances British officers regarded the right to search American ships and to take off British subjects as essential. They did not claim the right to impress American seamen,

but they refused to acknowledge that a person born in Great Britain could become a naturalized American citizen. The American view, quite naturally, was thoroughly hostile to such a view. It was humiliating for American ships to lay under the guns of a British warship while a British officer and a party of marines lined up the crew and examined them. Moreover, many true American seamen were impressed by the hundreds—ultimately it was believed by the thousands.

To bring about a fairer attitude without war, President Jefferson finally was able to get Congress to pass the Embargo Act of 1807 which forbade foreign commerce altogether. The Embargo proved disastrous to not only manufacturing and shipping interests, but to Southern and Western agricultural interests who could not dispose of their surplus grain, meat, and tobacco overseas. With smuggling and grumbling increasing at home, President Jefferson was forced to substitute a milder measure—a Non-intercourse Law which forbade commerce with either Great Britain or France, including their dependencies.

7. Ask students what led to the War of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain?

The impressment of American seamen by the British in their war against France was highlighted when the British warship *Leopard* ordered the American warship *Chesapeake* to give up certain British deserters (there was only one). Meeting some hesitation by the captain of the *Chesapeake*, the Leopard fired into The *Chesapeake* for 15 minutes and then boarded her. The decks were wet with blood. Four men were taken off. A little later, President Jefferson presented the Congress with a detailed report showing 6,057 instances in which the British had impressed American citizens within the past three years. Also, it was believed that the British were encouraging Tecumseh and a league of Indian tribes to attack Northwestern American settlers.

One motive for the war was thoroughly selfish. Land-hungry Westerners wished to grab all of Canada from the British and Florida from Spain (now Britain's ally against France), and other "War Hawks." With James Madison now in the White House, war was declared on Great Britain in 1812.

8. Ask students in what ways was John Quincy Adams courageous?

9. Do you agree with all the stands that John Quincy Adams took? If not, on which ones would you have taken an opposite stand? Why?

10. Ask students what are the consequences of going against majority opinion? When should this be done? Are there times when it is better to "go along with the crowd," even if you do not agree with majority opinion? If so, under what circumstances is it acceptable to "go along with the crowd?" Under what circumstances is it better *not* to go along with the crowd? What can be the expected consequences when not going along with the crowd? Is it really worth it? Why or why not?

PART TWO

DANIEL WEBSTER, THOMAS HART BENTON, AND SAMUEL HOUSTON

Part Two includes the Simulations of Daniel Webster, Thomas Hart Benton, and Samuel Houston. These Simulations primarily cover the period from 1850 to 1861. As John F. Kennedy stated in his book, "Great crises produce great men, and great deeds of courage. This country has known no greater crisis than that which culminated in the fratricidal war between North and South in 1861."

This was a period of time when Senators had to decide between maintaining their loyalty to the nation or to their state and region. Most gave their loyalty to their region. But there were those who felt a dual loyalty to their state and nation, those who sought compromises which would remove the possibility of a sectional war. The decision by the compromisers were agonizing ones, for the ultimate choice involved the breaking up of old loyalties and friendships, and the probability of electoral defeat.

The philosophical struggle between North and South was fought in the United States Senate. This was because the House of Representatives was increasingly being added to by Northerners due to the rapid population growth in the North. In the Senate, each state was equal since each state was (and is still) limited to just two Senators. The admission of new states into the Union continuously threatened the precarious balance of power between the free and slave states and between the agricultural and manufacturing regions. Therefore, the issue of the admission of new states into the Union was at the heart of some of the great Senate debates beginning in 1820 with Maine and Missouri simultaneously coming into the Union—Maine a free state and Missouri a slave state. Until 1850, the balance was maintained by simultaneous admissions of free and slave states. But in 1850, the seams of compromise were bursting, as vast new territories acquired by the Mexican War accelerated the pace of the slavery controversy.

That secession did not occur in 1850 instead of 1861 is due in large part to Daniel Webster, who was in large measure responsible for the acceptance of the Clay Compromise of 1850. That the key border state of

Missouri did not join the Confederacy in 1861 was largely due to Thomas Hart Benton. Texas did join the Confederacy, but not without a valiant struggle against doing so by Sam Houston.

* * *

It will be helpful to Simulation participants, as well as to any audience, to have name and title identification cards that are easily visible to all. Such identification cards should be placed where the participants sit or stand for easy identification and to facilitate the Simulation.

An 8 1/2 x 11 inch sheet of heavy paper or cardboard, folded two times lengthwise, makes an acceptable identifier. Simulation participants can be asked to prepare their own identifier.

DANIEL WEBSTER

INTRODUCTION

Daniel Webster(1782-1852) was the best known American orator and one of the ablest lawyers and statesmen of his time. He looked the part as well. He gained his greatest fame as the champion of a strong central government. He represented Massachusetts as a Federalist in the United States House of Representatives from 1823-1827, and was elected to the United States Senate in 1827.

Because of his strong support for the Compromise of 1850, which prevented the Union from breaking apart, his long sought goal of being nominated by his Whig Party for President of the United States was never realized He had alienated too many members of his Party for his strong leadership role in the passage of the controversial Compromise of 1850. After serving in the U.S. Senate, and losing the chance of being elected President, he served as Secretary of State under three Presidents.

OBJECTIVES

As participants in the Daniel Webster Simulation, each student will:

1. Research the historical period in the United States from 1782 to 1852.

2. Research the specific role to which he/she is assigned, *and* how the person assigned voted on *each* of the issues taken up in the Simulation.

3. Actively involve himself/herself extemporaneously in the Simulation. As a consequence, each student will:

1) Study the Mexican War of 1846-48.
2) Study the events that led to the Compromise of 1850.
3) Learn what the Compromise of 1850 was.
4) Learn about the many courageous acts of Daniel Webster.
5) Consider and debate whether Daniel Webster should have taken the stand he took in arguing in favor of the Compromise of 1850, which precluded his being considered for the Presidency of the United States.

STRATEGY

Introduction

Say to the students that they are to research the historical period from 1782-1852 with respect to the governance of the United States of America.

Further state for this period that students are to particularly study the life of Daniel Webster and the Compromise of 1850.

Tell students that their research will culminate in a Simulation, that it will be "The Daniel Webster Simulation," based upon John F. Kennedy's Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Profiles in Courage*.

After students have had a sufficient number of days to study their general assignment, assign the following specific roles to those students who are most likely to best fit each role:

1. The Narrator (may be the instructor if the Instructor prefers)
2. Millard Fillmore
3. Jefferson Davis
4. Stephen A. Douglas
5. Henry Clay
6. John C. Calhoun
7. James Murray Mason
8. William H. Seward
9. Thomas Hart Benton
10. Southern Senators opposed to the Compromise of 1850 (about 30 percent of the class who do not otherwise have an assigned role).
11. Southern Senators in favor of the Compromise of 1850 (about 20 percent of the class who do not otherwise have an assigned role).
12. Northern Senators opposed to the Compromise of 1850 (about 15 percent of the class who do not otherwise have an assigned role).

13. Northern Senators in favor of the Compromise of 1850 (about 35 percent of the class who do not otherwise have an assigned role).

14. Daniel Webster

Announce to the class when the Simulation will be conducted, allowing sufficient time to research individual assigned roles.

Prepare role cards for each class member (copies can be made of the roles on a copy machine, if you prefer). It is recommended that on the back of each role card the name of the individual assigned to the role be written in pencil beforehand. This will save considerable time when the Simulation is conducted. Moreover, by simply erasing the names on the role cards after the Simulation has been conducted and role cards returned, they can be used over and over again a number of times without the necessity of preparing a replacement role card.

The Simulation

Ask students to "live" their roles, to become involved and to imagine themselves in the United States Senate March 7, 1850. State, a debate is going on concerning the admission of California and New Mexico into the Union.

Steps to Follow

1. Write on the chalkboard, "United States Senate—March 7, 1850"

2. Pass out Role Card 1 to the Narrator.

3. Pass out Role Card 2 to Millard Fillmore, President of the United States Senate, Vice-President under President Zachary Taylor, and later President of the United States when Zachary Taylor died in office. President Fillmore signed the Compromise of 1850 although historians believe that had President Taylor lived, he would have vetoed the "Omnibus Bill of 1850."

4. Pass out Role Card 3 to Jefferson Davis, United States Senator from Mississippi and President of the Confederacy during the Civil War. Senator Davis opposed the Compromise of 1850.

5. Pass out Role Card 4 to Stephen A. Douglas, United States Senator from Illinois, favored the Compromise of 1850.

6. Pass out Role Card 5 to Henry Clay, United States Senator from Kentucky, who proposed the Compromise of 1850.

7. Pass out Role Card 6 to John C. Calhoun, United States Senator from South Carolina, who opposed the Compromise of 1850.

8. Pass out Role Card 7 to James Murray Mason, United States Senator from Virginia, who was opposed to the Compromise of 1850 and was the "voice" for Senator John C. Calhoun.

9. Pass out Role Card 8 to William H. Seward, United States Senator from New York, who was opposed to the Compromise of 1850.

10. Pass out Role Card 9 to Thomas Hart Benton, United States Senator, from Missouri, who was in favor of the Compromise of 1850.

11. Pass out Role Card 10 to Southern Senators opposed to the Compromise of 1850.

12. Pass out role Card 11 to Southern Senators in favor of the Compromise of 1850.

13. Pass out Role Card 12 to Northern Senators opposed to the Compromise of 1850.

14. Pass out Role Card 13 to Northern Senators in favor of the Compromise of 1850.

15. Pass out Role Card 14 to Daniel Webster.

16. Sit down. The Narrator will then commence the Simulation. The class will now extemporaneously carry out the Simulation per their assigned role, directions, and instructions on their role cards.

Role Card 1

Role: Narrator (may be the instructor if the Instructor prefers)

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

When your instructor sits down, come to the front of the room and give an opening statement. Give background information to the Simulation participants concerning the Daniel Webster Simulation. As extemporaneously as possible, state:

In 1850, the United States Congress hoped to settle the strife between opponents of slavery in the North and slaveholders in the South.

The main problem was whether the territory the United States received as a result of the Mexican War should be allowed to have slavery or not.

Controversy over the extension of slavery in new territories reached a new high in 1849 as California prepared to apply for admission to the Union as a free state. President Zachary Taylor from Kentucky urged Congress to admit California and New Mexico immediately as free states rather than first as territories. He, thus, hoped to avoid the dispute over slavery in the territories. But Southerners angrily demanded the adjustment of other slavery problems before new states were admitted. During the next months, Congress had one of its greatest debates. Southerners threatened secession, and Northerners promised war to preserve the Union. Though President Taylor himself owned many slaves, he sided with the North and pledged to use force to uphold the Union.

Announce: "The President of the Senate, Millard Fillmore (Vice-President of the United States), will now open the March 7, 1850 session of the United States Senate."

Then sit down.

Role Card 2

Role: Millard Fillmore— Vice-President of the United States of America under President Zachary Taylor and President of the United States Senate (became President of the United States as a result of President Taylor dying of natural causes in the White House on July 9, 1850).

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

When the Narrator sits down, take your place in the front of the Senate and declare, "The Senate is now in session for the purpose of discussing the admission of California and New Mexico into the Union."

You then recognize Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as the first Senator to speak.

When Senator Davis sits down, recognize Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. After Senator Douglas finishes speaking, and sits down, recognize at least one other Senator to speak before recognizing Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky to speak.

Recognize Senators Mason, Seward, Benton and other Southern Senators as appropriate during the Simulation.

When Senator Clay sits down after presenting his Compromise, recognize other Senators who wish to speak. When you believe both Northern and Southern Senators have been given a reasonable amount of time to present their respective views, recognize Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts *as the last person to speak*. Do NOT allow any other Senator to speak once Senator Webster has spoken.

When Senator Webster is finished speaking, as indicated by his sitting down, you call for a vote for or against the Compromise of 1850. You then declare, "The Compromise of 1850 is passed."

This concludes the Simulation.

Role Card 3

Role: Jefferson Davis, United States Senator from Mississippi (later became President of the Confederacy during the Civil War)

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

When the President of the United States Senate, Millard Fillmore, declares "The United States Senate is now in session..., rise out of your seat to be the first speaker.

You vigorously oppose California and New Mexico coming into the Union as free states. You argue it would upset the balance of power between free and slave states which at this time are equal in number.

You declare that if these former Mexican territories are allowed in as free states, Southern states will be forced to secede from the Union! You declare that California and New Mexico must first be admitted as territories, *not* as states! It would be unprecedented for any land acquired by the United States not to first be admitted as a territory; no other such land acquired by the United States ever immediately became a state. The balance of power in the Senate must not be upset!

When you finish with your declaration, sit down. But vigorously stand up to argue with Senator Douglas of Illinois or any other Senator who favors the admission of California and/or New Mexico as states without first being admitted as territories.

Role Card 4

Role: Stephen A. Douglas, United States Senator from Illinois

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

When Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi sits down, rise out of your seat to be recognized by Millard Fillmore, President of the United States Senate.

Rebut Senator Davis' arguments. Declare slavery is morally wrong. Moreover, you state your abhorrence for the Fugitive Slave Act in which Southern bounty hunters can come into free Northern states and take runaway slaves back to their masters in the South.

Therefore, you forcefully state California and New Mexico should not have to wait to become states. There is no point that they should first be required to be territories. These lands are well-developed areas, so immediately coming in as states is a reasonable request of the Senate and so should be approved. These lands were won in the Mexican War and they want to come into the Union as free states.

If Senator Davis or any other Senator argue against allowing California and New Mexico coming into the Union initially as states rather than as territories, rise to be recognized and defend the North's position on the matter.

Role Card 5

Role: Henry Clay, United States Senator from Kentucky

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

Though you are 73 years old and in ill health, above all else you want to preserve the Union. To help you do this, you previously met privately with the powerful Senator from Massachusetts, Daniel Webster in a successful attempt to enlist his support for a compromise between Northern and Southern positions on the proposed admission of California and New Mexico as states. Though Senator Webster abhorred slavery, he agreed to support your proposed compromise in order to keep the South from seceding and a likely civil war that would result from such a secession.

With difficulty, you rise to be recognized by Millard Fillmore, President of the United States Senate, when you believe it a good time to do so, but *only after Senators Jefferson Davis and Stephen Douglas and at least one other Senator has spoken.* After being recognized to speak, you vigorously state the Union must be preserved. It would be catastrophic if the South should secede. Compromise between the North and the South is the only solution to such a catastrophe. You therefore propose the following compromise: 1) California is to be admitted as a free state; 2) New Mexico and Utah are to be organized as territories without legislation either for or against slavery; 3) Texas is to be compensated for some territory ceded to New Mexico; 4) the slave trade will be abolished in the District of Columbia; and 5) a more stringent and enforceable Fugitive Slave Law is to be enacted to guarantee the return of runaway slaves captured in Northern states to their masters.

Sit down after presenting your compromise.

Role Card 6

Role: John C. Calhoun, United States Senator from South Carolina

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

You are too ill to debate, but you come to the United States Senate chambers anyway. You are assisted to your chair by your friend, Senator Mason from Virginia, whom you have authorized to speak on your behalf. You vigorously oppose the Clay Compromise.

When Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, who has not noticed your presence in the Senate chambers, states he regrets your lack of presence due to illness, with difficulty you rise from your seat and loudly declare, "The Senator from South Carolina *is* in his seat."

Role Card 7

Role: James Murray Mason, United States Senator from Virginia

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

When Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky is finished speaking, rise out of your seat and state that you are speaking not only for yourself but also for your sick friend sitting beside you, John C. Calhoun, the honorable Senator from South Carolina. When you first come into the Senate chambers, take the arm of your feeble friend from South Carolina and help him to take a seat beside you.

You state that both you and Senator Calhoun vigorously oppose California and New Mexico coming into the Union as free states. You argue it would upset the balance of power between free and slave states which at this time are equal in number.

You declare that if these former Mexican territories are allowed in as free states, Southern states will be forced to secede from the Union! You declare that California and New Mexico must first be admitted as territories, *not* as states! It would be unprecedented for any land acquired by the United States not to first be admitted as a territory; no other such land acquired by the United States ever immediately became a state. The balance of power in the Senate must not be upset!

When you finish with your declaration, sit down. But vigorously stand up to argue with Senator Douglas of Illinois or any other Senator who favors the admission of California and/or New Mexico as states without first being admitted as territories.

Role Card 8

Role: William H. Seward, United States Senator from New York

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

When Senator Mason of Virginia is finished speaking in opposition to the Clay Compromise, you rise to be recognized by the Senate President and state that you, too, are opposed to the Clay Compromise, but for very different reasons. You vigorously oppose the strengthening of the Fugitive Slave Act. You also believe that both Utah and New Mexico should come into the Union now, NOT as territories but as non-free states. You try to be recognized any time either a Northerner or a Southerner in favor of the Clay Compromise speak so as to rebut any of their arguments in favor of the Clay Compromise.

Role Card 9

Role: Thomas Hart Benton, United States Senator from Missouri

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

When Senator Seward of New York is finished speaking against the Clay Compromise, stand and remain standing until recognized to speak by the President of the Senate. Declare slavery is morally wrong. Moreover, you state your abhorrence for the Fugitive Slave Act in which Southern bounty hunters can come into free Northern states and take runaway slaves back to their masters in the South.

Therefore, you forcefully state California and New Mexico should not have to wait to become states. There is no point that they should first be required to be territories. These lands are well-developed areas, so immediately coming in as states is a reasonable request of the Senate and so should be approved. These lands were won in the Mexican War and they want to come into the Union as free states.

If any other Senator argues against allowing California and New Mexico coming into the Union initially as states rather than as territories, rise to be recognized and defend the North's position on the matter.

Role Card 10

Role: Southern Senator Against the Compromise of 1850

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

You state that both you and your state vigorously oppose California and New Mexico coming into the Union as free states. You argue it would upset the balance of power between free and slave states which at this time are equal in number.

You declare that if these former Mexican territories are allowed in as free states, Southern states will be forced to secede from the Union! You declare that California and New Mexico must first be admitted as territories, *not* as states! It would be unprecedented for any land acquired by the United States not to first be admitted as a territory; no other such land acquired by the United States ever immediately became a state. The balance of power in the Senate must not be upset!

When you finish with your declaration, sit down. But stand up to be recognized by the President of the Senate and when recognized to speak, vigorously argue against any other Senator who favors the admission of California and/or New Mexico as states without first being admitted as territories. Also, argue against any Senator who favors either eliminating or diluting the Fugitive Slave Act.

Role Card 11

Role: Southern Senator For the Compromise of 1850

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

After being recognized to speak by the President of the Senate, you vigorously state the Union must be preserved. It would be catastrophic if the South should secede. Compromise between the North and the South is the only solution to such a catastrophe. You state that though you are against California and/or New Mexico coming into the Union as states rather than first as territories, you will support the Clay Compromise because, above all else, it is imperative to preserve the Union and if the Clay Compromise is not accepted, you fear Southern states will secede from the Union. Continue to try to be recognized by the Senate President to argue against any Northerner or Southerner who opposes the Clay Compromise.

Role Card 12

Role: Northern Senator Against the Compromise of 1850

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

When Senator Mason of Virginia is finished speaking in opposition to the Clay Compromise, you rise to be recognized by the Senate President and when recognized to speak, state that you, too, are opposed to the Clay Compromise, but for very different reasons. You vigorously oppose the strengthening of the Fugitive Slave Act. You also believe that both Utah and New Mexico should come into the Union now, NOT as territories but as non-free states. You try to be recognized any time either a Northerner or a Southerner in favor of the Clay Compromise speak so as to rebut any of their arguments in favor of the Clay Compromise.

Role Card 13

Role: Northern Senator For the Compromise of 1850

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

You rise to be recognized by the President of the United States Senate after Senator Benton of Missouri is finished presenting his support for the Clay Compromise.

After being recognized to speak by the President of the Senate, you vigorously state the Union must be preserved. It would be catastrophic if the South should secede. Compromise between the North and the South is the only solution to such a catastrophe. You state that though you are against the Fugitive Slave Act and that you also believe that both Utah and New Mexico should immediately be admitted as states, you will support the Clay Compromise because, above all else, it is imperative to preserve the Union and if the Clay Compromise is not accepted, you fear Southern states will secede from the Union. Continue to try to be recognized by the Senate President to argue against any Northerner or Southerner who opposes the Clay Compromise.

Role Card 14

Role: Daniel Webster, United States Senator from Massachusetts

Time: March 7, 1850

Place: The United States Senate

Though Henry Clay, a Southern Senator from Kentucky was 73 years old and in ill health, above all else he wanted to preserve the Union. To help him do this, he previously met privately with you in a successful attempt to enlist your support for a proposed compromise between Northern and Southern positions on the admission of California and New Mexico as states rather than first coming into the Union as territories. Though you abhor slavery, in which part of the compromise was to strengthen the Fugitive Slave Act, you agreed anyway to support Senator Clay's proposed compromise in order to keep the South from seceding and a likely civil war that would result from such a secession.

You rise to be recognized by the President of the United States Senate after Senator Henry Clay presents his compromise...AND after a number of *both* Northern and Southern Senators have had a chance to present their views. You are to be the *last Senator to speak* before voting takes place on the Clay Compromise.

When recognized to speak, begin your appeal for the compromise put forth by Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky as follows:

"Mr. President, I wish to speak today, not as a Massachusetts man nor as a Northern man, but as an American and a member of the Senate of the United States...I speak today for the preservation of the Union. Hear me for my cause."

Now express with regret that illness has prevented the distinguished Senator from South Carolina from being present (you have not noticed Senator Calhoun being assisted to his chair where he sits trembling, scarcely able to move). When Senator Calhoun rises, with difficulty, from his seat and declares that he is there, make a respectful bow toward him, acknowledging his presence. Then proceed, urging the passage of the Clay Compromise. You relate the grievances of both the North and the South. But you ask for conciliation and understanding in the name of patriotism.

The Senate's main concern, you insist, is neither to promote slavery nor to abolish it, but to preserve the United States of America. And with telling logic and foresight you bitterly attack the idea of a "peaceable secession."

When you are through speaking, sit down, and vote in favor of the Clay Compromise when the President of the United States Senate calls for a vote.

Review, Summarization, and Reinforcement

1. Ask the students what they liked about the Simulation.
2. Ask the students how the Simulation could have been improved.
3. Ask the students what they learned from the Simulation.
4. Ask students what led to the Mexican War of 1846-48.

The immediate cause of the war was the United States annexation of Texas (December 1845); other factors included the existence of long-standing claims by U.S. citizens against Mexico and the American ambition to acquire California. American troops reached Mexico City on September 14, 1847 where they remained until peace was restored. American battlefield victories led to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (February 2, 1848) which ended the war. Mexico ceded two-fifths of its territory to the United States... in return, Mexico received a somewhat face-saving payment of $15 million from the United States.

5. Ask students why Senator Henry Clay felt it was even necessary to introduce a compromise bill regarding the new lands won from Mexico in the Mexican War of 1846-48.

The Wilmot Proviso of 1846, prohibiting slavery in land acquired from Mexico, caused contention in the South. Southerners feared that, in time, with the admission of new states where slavery would be prohibited, the balance of power would shift to non slave-holding states, and with such a shift, eventually the abolishment of slavery all together. Northern Senator Douglas and Southern Senator Henry Clay, with the eloquent support of Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, recognized that if a compromise was not struck between the North and the South, it was likely the South would secede from the Union. These three men, along with President Millard Fillmore, believed it was imperative to preserve the Union at all costs—secession would lead to an unwanted civil war.

6. Ask students in what ways was Senator Henry Clay courageous?

Senator Clay's Compromise was against the majority opinion of his constituents in Kentucky.

7. Ask students in what ways was Senator Daniel Webster courageous?

Senator Webster's support for the Compromise of 1850 doomed his chance of ever being the nominee for President of the United States by his Whig Party.

8. Do you agree with all the stands that Daniel Webster took? If not, on which ones would you have taken an opposite stand. Why?

9. Ask students what are the consequences of going against majority opinion? When should this be done? Are there times when it is better to "go along with the crowd," even if you do not agree with majority opinion? If so, under what circumstances is it acceptable to "go along with the crowd?" Under what circumstances is it better *not* to go along with the crowd? What can be the expected consequences when not going along with the crowd? Is it really worth it? Why or why not?

THOMAS HART BENTON

INTRODUCTION

Thomas Hart Benton (1782-1852) served as the first United States Senator from Missouri after it was admitted into the Union in 1821 as a slave state. Senator Benton served his state for a record 30 years, and was a member of the Democratic Party. He was a devoted follower of President Andrew Jackson.

Senator Benton was constantly the advocate of unpopular issues within his state. He could and was a true "independent" due to the fact that he alone disdained patronage, petty Congressional graft, and favors from lobbyists.

Senator Benton championed the expansion of the United States toward the West. The Pony Express, the telegraph line and the highways to the interior were among his proud achievements...and a transcontinental railroad and a fully developed West, rich in population and resources, were among his dreams.

Senator Benton's downfall came about because the majority of people in Missouri increasingly identified themselves with the slave-holding states of the South. Rebellious Senator Benton's primary loyalty was neither to the Democratic party nor to his section of the country, but to the Union as a whole. In spite of the strong identification of the majority of Missourians as being a slave-holding Southern state, Missouri never seceded from the Union during the Civil War—in not a small part due to many Missourians high regard for their former maverick Senator Thomas Hart Benton.

OBJECTIVES

As participants in the Thomas Hart Benton Simulation, each student will:

1. Research the historical period in the United States from 1820 to 1858.

2. Research the specific role to which he/she is assigned, *and* how the person assigned voted on *each* of the issues taken up in the Simulation.

3. Actively involve himself/herself extemporaneously in the Simulation. As a consequence, each student will:

1) Study the treaty events that led to the annexation of Texas into the Union.

2) Study the "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight" issue which resulted in the modification of the boundary of the Oregon Treaty of 1818 between the United States and Great Britain (and Canada).

3) Study the Nullification Acts proposed by Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and other related issues.

4) Learn about the many courageous acts of Thomas Hart Benton.

5) Consider and debate whether Thomas Hart Benton should have been more a representative of his state rather than the Union. Should Senators be representatives of their state first, their section of the country first, or the nation as a whole first? Answer which, when, why, and under what circumstances on these questions?

STRATEGY

Introduction

Say to the students that they are to research the historical period from 1820-1858 with respect to the governance of the United States of America.

Further state for this period that students are to particularly study the life of Thomas Hart Benton, United States Senator from Missouri; the annexation of Texas; the "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight" issue; the Nullification Acts proposal.

Tell students that their research will culminate in a Simulation, that it will be "The Thomas Hart Benton Simulation," based upon John F. Kennedy's Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Profiles in Courage*.

After students have had a sufficient number of days to study their general assignment, assign the following specific roles to those students who are most likely to best fit each role:

Millard Fillmore

John C. Calhoun

Thomas Hart Benton

John Tyler

Lewis Cass

Henry Foote

David R. Atchison

Senators who *favor* the annexation of Texas, setting the boundary between Canada and the United States at the 49th parallel, and who are *opposed* to the Senator Clay's "Nullifications—1847-1851." Assign this role to about 60 percent of those in the class not having a specific assigned role.

Senators who *oppose* the annexation of Texas, who also are opposed to setting the boundary between Canada and the United States at the 49th parallel, and who are in *favor* of Senator Clay's "Nullifications—1847-1851." Assign this role to about 40 percent of those in the class not having a specific assigned role.

Announce to the class when the Simulation will be conducted, allowing sufficient time to research individual assigned roles.

Prepare role cards for each class member (copies can be made of the roles on a copy machine, if you prefer). It is recommended that on the back of each role card the name of the individual assigned to the role be written in pencil beforehand. This will save considerable time when the Simulation is conducted. Moreover, by simply erasing the names on the role cards after the Simulation has been conducted and role cards returned, they can be used over and over again a number of times without the necessity of preparing a replacement role card.

The Simulation

Ask students to "live" their roles, to become involved and to imagine themselves in the United States Senate from 1820-1858.

Steps to Follow

1. Write on the chalkboard, "United States Senate—1845-1850"

2. Pass out Role Card 1 to Millard Fillmore, President of the United States Senate, Vice-President under President Zachary Taylor, and later President of the United States when Zachary Taylor died in office.

3. Pass out Role Card 2 to John C. Calhoun, United States Senator from South Carolina, who proposed the Nullification Acts . [These proposals came about due to the Tariff Law of 1828 which were protective duties that the cotton-growing South disliked, with South Carolina being the state most in opposition to these protective duties. Likewise, South Carolina was strongly against any limitations on the expansion of slavery to new states and territories.]

4. Pass out Role Card 3 to Thomas Hart Benton, Senior United States Senator from Missouri. Senator Benton was against the admission of Texas as a state; was against a boundary between the United States and Canada set at the 54th parallel; and was against the Nullification Acts.

5. Pass out Role Card 4 to John Tyler, United States Senator from Virginia (later became the Vice-President of the United States under President William Henry Harrison; first Vice-President to succeed to the Presidency upon the untimely death of William Henry Harrison who died after only one month in office).

6. Pass out Role Card 5 to Lewis Cass, United States Senator from Michigan. He favored moving the Indians west of the Mississippi River.

7. Pass out Role Card 6 to Henry Foote, United States Senator from Mississippi. He opposed the Compromise of 1850.

8. Pass out Role Card 7 to David R. Atchison, Junior United States Senator from Missouri, who took the opposite side most of the time, of that of the Senior Senator from Missouri, Thomas Hart Benton.

9. Pass out Role Card 8 to Senators who favor the annexation of Texas, setting the boundary between Canada and the United States at the 49th parallel, and who are opposed to the Senator Clay's "Nullifications—1847-1851." About 60 percent of those in the class not having a specific assigned role are to receive a Role card 8.

10. Pass out Role Card 9 to Senators who oppose the annexation of Texas, who also are opposed to setting the boundary between Canada and the United States at the 49th parallel, and who are in favor of Senator Clay's "Nullifications—1847-1851." About 40 percent of those in the class not having a specific assigned role are to receive a Role card 9.

12. Sit down. Millard Fillmore, President of the United States Senate will then commence the Simulation. The class will now extemporaneously carry out the Simulation per their assigned roles, directions, and instructions on their role cards.

Role Card 1

Role: Millard Fillmore— President of the United States Senate and Vice-President of the United States of America under President Zachary Taylor (became President of the United States as a result of President Taylor dying of natural causes in the White House on July 9, 1850).

Time: 1845-1850

Place: The United States Senate

When your instructor sits down, come to the front of the room and announce the opening of the United States Senate for debate over the proposed **annexation of Texas** into the Union.

You first recognize Senator Calhoun of Texas to speak on the issue.

After Senator Calhoun has been given a reasonable amount of time to speak, recognize Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri to speak.

After Senator Benton sits down, recognize Senator Tyler of Virginia to speak. When he sits down, allow other Senators to briefly debate the issue of the annexation of Texas into the Union. Then call for a vote on the annexation of Texas into the Union by the raising of hands.

Announce that the Senate has agreed to annex Texas by majority vote.

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After the issue of the Annexation of Texas has been decided, erase "1845" and replace this date and topic on the chalkboard with "The Oregon Treaty of 1846."

First, recognize Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan to speak on the **Oregon Treaty** issue.

When Senator Cass sits down, recognize Senator Benton of Missouri to speak.

When Senator Benton sits down, again recognize Senator Cass to speak.

And again, when Senator Cass sits down, recognize for a final time Senator Benton to speak.

Recognize any other Senator to briefly speak on the proposed Oregon Treaty of 1846 issue. Then call for a vote by the raising of hands for those for and those against the proposed treaty.

Announce that the legislation submitted by Senator Benton of the boundary between the United States and Great Britain be set at the 49th parallel rather than at the 54º 40' parallel is passed. You then declare that President Polk be authorized to state to Great Britain and Canada that the United States would only claim the 49th parallel as a permanent boundary between the United States and Canada.

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After erasing the previous date and event, write on the chalkboard, "Nullifications—1847-1851."

Recognize Senator Calhoun of South Carolina as the first Senator to speak on the issue of **Nullifications**.

When Senator Calhoun calls for a vote on his Nullification proposal and then sits down, recognize Senator Benton to speak.

When Senator Benton finishes speaking against Senator Calhoun's resolutions, and sits down, recognize Senator Henry Foote of Mississippi to speak when he rises to be recognized.

After the ruckus in which Senator Foote points a pistol at Senator Benton, you call for order and a vote on Senator Calhoun's resolutions.

You call for a vote by the raising of hands. After the vote is called, you announce, "The resolutions fail."

Then announce, "This concludes the Thomas Hart Benton Simulation."

Role Card 2

Role: John C. Calhoun—United States Senator from South Carolina

Time: 1845-1850

Place: The United States Senate

After the President of the Senate announces the opening for debate on the issue of the **Annexation of Texas** into the Union, you rise to be recognized and to speak on the issue. When recognized, you forcefully state your views as to why Texas should be admitted into the Union. You argue that Texas should be able to keep its public lands and that Texas rather than the Union should pay its public debts. You argue that the "Lone Star State" has been a responsible, independent, and well-governed English speaking nation won by Americans from Mexico. It is only right that Americans already in Texas be joined together with their sister nation. Sit down, but rise to be recognized to debate anyone who disagrees with you on the Texas Annexation Issue.

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When the President of the Senate writes on the chalkboard, "Nullifications, **1847-1851**, rise to be the first Senator to be recognized to speak on this issue that you have introduced to the Senate.

You argue that individual state governments have the right to nullify laws of the federal government because it is the states that have given certain powers to the Congress, therefore the states alone are competent to say whether or not Congress has exceeded its powers on any given issue.

You insist that the abominable tariffs on cotton are not federally enforceable and that Congress has no right to interfere with the development of slavery in the territories.

You further argue that the federal government has no right to judge the constitutionality of its own acts. Then ask the President of the Senate to call for a vote on your Nullification Resolutions to do away with tariffs on cotton and to not interfere with the expansion of slavery into the territories. However, you are amazed and angry to see Senator Benton rise from his chair to state:

"Mr. President, we have some business to transact, and I do not intend to avoid business for a string of abstractions."

You reply: "...I certainly supposed the Senator from Missouri, the representative of a slaveholding state, would have supported these resolutions..."

After Senator Benton responds, you state: "Then I shall know where to find the gentleman."

After Senator Benton replies and a brief ruckus ensues between Senator Benton and Senator Foote, the President of the Senate will call for a vote on your Nullification proposals.

Role Card 3

Role: Thomas Hart Benton—United States Senator from Missouri

Time: 1845-1850

Place: The United States Senate

After the President of the Senate announces the opening for debate on the issue of the **Annexation of Texas** into the Union, you rise to be recognized and to speak on the issue immediately after Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina has spoken in favor of the annexation of Texas into the Union.

When recognized, you forcefully state your views as to why Texas should *not* be admitted into the Union. You argue that only a few months ago, the Senate refused to admit Texas into the Union when those in favor failed to get a two-thirds majority. Now, due to manipulation, only a simple majority is required over this important decision.

Urge fellow Senators to vote against the proposed annexation of Texas. State that Mexican rights have to be considered. There likely will be resistance by Mexicans and even another war with Mexico could result from this untimely annexation.

Further, you declare, Texas would come in as a slave state, upsetting the present political balance between slave and non-slave holding states. You then state:

"I do not know whether my constituents are really opposed to my position or not, if they were, and I knew it, I should resign my place; for I could neither violate their known wishes in voting against it, nor violate my own sense of constitutional or moral duty in voting for it. If the alternative should be the extinction of my political life, I should have to embrace it."

Then state: "...the political opposition to my views has been stirred up by Senators Calhoun and Tyler and their friends, including 300 newspapers in the pay of the Department of State, many of them not visibly so.'"

Sit down, but rise to speak again, after being recognized by the President of the Senate, against any Senator who favors the annexation of Texas into the Union as a state.

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When the President of the Senate has called for a vote on the annexation of Texas into the Union, in which you vote against (but which passes), and then writes on the chalkboard, **"The Oregon Treaty of 1846,"** you rise to be recognized after Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan is finished speaking on the issue.

State, that it is extravagantly unrealistic to fight Great Britain and Canada over the "whole of Oregon or none," the "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" boundaries. It is too much land to expect Great Britain to give up.

You assail your Democratic colleagues in the Senate for the error of their views, especially those of Senator Cass. Then sit down.

Senator Cass then refers to you as being both a coward and a traitor. You then rise and state that you would not dignify Senator Cass' remarks. You then make a motion that President Polk be authorized to propose a permanent boundary with Canada and Great Britain at a realistic 49th parallel in the Oregon Territory—that there should be no bloodshed over territory where hardly any Americans have settled.

A vote is called by the President of the Senate, you vote in favor of your own motion, and it passes.

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When the President of the Senate writes on the chalkboard, **"Nullifications, 1847-1851,"** rise to be recognized to speak on this issue after Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina has introduced this Bill to the Senate. You state: "Mr. President, we have some business to transact, and I do not intend to avoid business for a string of abstractions."

When Senator Calhoun replies to your remark, you state: "The Senator knows very well from my whole course in public life that I would never leave public business to take up firebrands to set the world on fire."

When, again, Senator Calhoun replies, you state: "I shall be found in the right place...on the side of my country and the Union."

You continue, by acknowledging that even though several Southern states, including your own Missouri, have adopted Senator Calhoun's resolutions, nevertheless "...I cannot do anything to dissolve the Union, or to array one-half of it against the other."

In arguing against Senator Calhoun's resolutions, you declare, "...the resolutions are false in their facts, incendiary in their temper, disunion in their object, and usurpation in their character....The whole concept, concoction and passage of the resolutions were perfected by fraud...a plot to get me out of the Senate and out of the disunion of plotters.

"California is suffering for want of admission. New Mexico is suffering for want of protection. The public business is suffering for want of attention. The character of Congress is suffering for want of progress in business. It is time to put an end to so many evils; and I have made the motion to move the indefinite postponement of this unmanageable mass of incongruous bills, each an impediment to the other, that they may be taken up one by one to receive the decision which their respective merits require." Now sit down.

But you then rise and menacingly advance toward Senator Henry Foote of Mississippi after he verbally attacks you. When you see him whip out a pistol and point it at you, you dramatically throw open your coat and shout, "I have no pistol! Let him fire! Let the assassin fire!" (He doesn't).

After the brief ruckus ensues between you and Senator Foote, the President of the Senate will call for a vote on your Nullification proposals.

Role Card 4

Role: John Tyler—United States Senator from Virginia

Time: 1845-1850

Place: The United States Senate

After the President of the Senate announces the opening for debate on the issue of the **Annexation of Texas** into the Union, you rise to be recognized and to speak on the issue immediately after Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri has spoken against the annexation of Texas into the Union.

When recognized, you forcefully state your views as to why Texas should be admitted into the Union. You support the position of Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. You vigorously oppose the arguments of Senator Benton.

As a Southerner, you favor the annexation of Texas since it will give more power to the Southern states and their way of life (the slave system).

Role Card 5

Role: Lewis Cass—United States Senator from Michigan

Time: 1845-1850

Place: The United States Senate

After the President of the Senate announces the opening for debate the issue of the **"Oregon Treaty of 1846,"** you rise to be recognized. When recognized to speak, you state that you strongly endorse the slogan, "Fifty-four forty or fight!" You state it is the *manifest destiny* of the United States to have this Oregon territory and if this means war with Great Britain and Canada, so be it!

You also affirm your long-standing position of *Popular Sovereignty* by which the people of any territory, including Oregon, have the right to decide for themselves where they wish to be affiliated and if they would permit or not permit slaveholding.

After presenting your position, sit down. When Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri is through speaking, rise again to be recognized by the Chair to speak. You emotionally accuse Senator Benton of being a coward and a traitor to the Nation and to the Democratic Party.

Role Card 6

Role: Henry Foote—United States Senator from Mississippi

Time: 1845-1850

Place: The United States Senate

After the President of the Senate announces the opening for debate on the issue of **"Nullifications,"** introduced by Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, you rise to be recognized to speak after Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri argues against the "Nullifications." You argue nastily against Senator Benton's positions. You taunt him by saying, " You will be defeated for reelection in Missouri for not carrying out the pro-slavery wishes of your fellow Missourians! You are only shielded by your age...and shielded by your cowardice!" State that you strongly endorse the slogan, "Fifty-four forty or fight!"

When Senator Benton advances menacingly toward you, whip out your pistol and point it at Senator Benton—but you don't fire.

Role Card 7

Role: David R. Atchison—Junior United States Senator from Missouri

Time: 1845-1850

Place: The United States Senate

After the President of the Senate announces the opening for debate on the various issues in this Simulation, you rise to be recognized to speak; you speak in opposition to the positions that your fellow Senator from Missouri takes—Thomas Hart Benton.

Role Card 8

Role: Senator who favors the annexation of Texas, setting the boundary between Canada and the United States at the 49th parallel, and who is opposed to the Senator Clay's "Nullifications—1847-1851.

Time: 1845-1850

Place: The United States Senate

After the President of the Senate announces the opening for debate on the various issues in this Simulation, you rise to be recognized to speak; when recognized to speak, you forcefully speak in accordance with the above positions to which you are assigned.

Role Card 9

Role: Senator who opposes the annexation of Texas, who also is opposed to setting the boundary between Canada and the United States at the 49th parallel, and who is in favor of Senator Clay's "Nullifications of 1847-1851.

Time: 1845-1850

Place: The United States Senate

After the President of the Senate announces the opening for debate on the various issues in this Simulation, you rise to be recognized to speak; when recognized to speak, you forcefully speak in accordance with the above positions to which you are assigned.

Review, Summarization, and Reinforcement

1. Ask the students what they liked about the Simulation.
2. Ask the students how the Simulation could have been improved.
3. Ask the students what they learned from the Simulation.
4. Ask what events led to the annexation of Texas into the Union.

Settlers from the United States began arriving in Texas in large numbers after Moses Austin obtained in 1821 a colonization grant. His son, Stephen F. Austin, established the first American settlement. The Texas revolution erupted in 1835 when American settlers routed Mexican troops and declared in 1836 their independence, which they were forced to defend in battles such as that at the Alamo. The annexation of Texas by the United States in 1845 precipitated the Mexican War.

5. Ask students to discuss what the United States likely would be like today if Texas had remained an independent nation.

6. Ask what some of the factors were that gave rise to the Oregon Treaty of 1846.

Both Great Britain and the United States claimed land called the Oregon Territory. The slogan "Fifty-four forty or fight" was quite popular with many Americans and would have led to United States expansion into what is now British Columbia. Had there not been a compromise with Great Britain at a more reasonable boundary line, there very likely would have been another war with Great Britain. Beginning in 1842, the Oregon/(Washington) region had been controlled jointly by the United States and Great Britain. The "Oregon controversy" was resolved in 1846 with the fixing of the Canadian-U.S. boundary at the 49th parallel, thanks largely to the efforts of Thomas Hart Benton.

7. Ask students what they believed would have been the short-term and the long-term result if the United States had insisted on establishing the boundary between Canada and the United States at the 54th parallel rather than the present 49th parallel. Should the United States have gone to war over this issue? Why or why not?

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8. Ask students what led to the Nullification resolutions?

Basically, Southern states did not want any tariffs on their cotton exports nor interference on the expansion of slavery into new territories. They argued that since it was the states that gave the power to a federal legislative body, states had the right to nullify those laws passed by Congress that any given state disagreed with (the effect that any state could do as it pleased).

9. Ask students in what ways was Thomas Hart Benton courageous?

10. Do you agree with all the stands that Thomas Hart Benton took? If not, on which ones would you have taken an opposite stand. Why?

11. Ask students what are the consequences of going against majority opinion? When should this be done? Are there times when it is better to "go along with the crowd," even if you do not agree with majority opinion? If so, under what circumstances is it acceptable to "go along with the crowd?" Under what circumstances is it better *not* to go along with the crowd? What can be the expected consequences when not going along with the crowd? Is it really worth it? Why or why not?

SAM HOUSTON

INTRODUCTION

Samuel Houston (1793-1863) enjoys the distinction of having one of the greatest political careers of any politician in American history. He was elected a Congressman from Tennessee and in 1827 was elected Governor of Tennessee. When his wife left him (for reasons never disclosed), he suddenly resigned the governorship of Tennessee (1829) and later moved to Texas. In Texas, he organized the Texas army and became its Commander-in-Chief. The organized Texas army defeated Mexican General Santa Ana which, in turn, resulted in the independence of Texas from Mexico. Sam Houston was then elected as the first President of the new Republic of Texas. He succeeded in having Texas admitted into the Union in 1845. From 1846-1859 he served Texas in the United States Senate. He was elected Governor of Texas in 1859.

The Texas Legislature voted to secede from the Union, but Governor Houston refused to take Texas out of the Union. This refusal led the Confederates to remove him from the Governorship in 1861. Texas then seceded from the Union and fought on the side of the Confederacy during the War Between the States—the Civil War.

Preceding Texas' secession, then Senator Houston vigorously opposed the Kansas/Nebraska Act, which proved his downfall among Southern Senators, and the majority of citizens in his own state of Texas.

OBJECTIVES

As participants in the Samuel Houston Simulation, each student will:

1. Research the historical period in the United States from 1820 to 1860.

2. Research the specific role to which he/she is assigned, *and* how the person assigned voted on *each* of the issues taken up in the Simulation.

3. Actively involve himself/herself extemporaneously in the Simulation. As a consequence, each student will:

1) Study the events that led up to the Kansas/Nebraska Act.

2) Learn what the Kansas/Nebraska Act was.

3) Learn what "Manifest Destiny" meant.

4) Study the events that led up to the secession of most Southern states from the Union.

5) Consider and debate whether or not Senator Houston should have taken the stand he took in opposing the Kansas/Nebraska Bill.

6) Learn about and discuss the many courageous acts of Sam Houston.

7) Consider and debate whether Sam Houston should have been more a representative of his state rather than the Union. Should Senators be representatives of their state first, their section of the country first, or the nation as a whole first? Answer which, when, why, and under what circumstances on these questions.

STRATEGY

Introduction

Say to the students that they are to research the historical period from 1820-1860 with respect to the governance of the United States of America.

Further state for this period that students are to particularly study the life of Samuel Houston, United States Senator from Texas, and the Kansas/Nebraska Bill.

Tell students that their research will culminate in a Simulation, that it will be "The Samuel Houston Simulation," based upon John F. Kennedy's Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Profiles in Courage*.

After students have had a sufficient number of days to study their general assignment, assign the following specific roles to those students who are most likely to best fit each role:

Narrator (may be the instructor if the Instructor prefers)

John C. Breckenridge

Stephen A. Douglas

Samuel Houston

President of the Texas Legislature

Alfred Iverson

Senators favoring the passage of the Kansas/Nebraska Act (about 90 percent of those students not having a specific, assigned role)

Senators opposing the passage of the Kansas/Nebraska Act (about 10 percent of those students not having a specific assigned role)

Announce to the class when the Simulation will be conducted, allowing sufficient time to research individual assigned roles.

Prepare role cards for each class member (copies can be made of the roles on a copy machine, if you prefer). It is recommended that on the back of each role card the name of the individual assigned to the role be written in pencil beforehand. This will save considerable time when the Simulation is conducted. Moreover, by simply erasing the names on the role cards after the Simulation has been conducted and role cards returned, they can be used over and over again a number of times without the necessity of preparing a replacement role card.

The Simulation

Ask students to "live" their roles, to become involved and to imagine themselves in the United States Senate from 1820-1860.

Steps to Follow

1. Pass out Role Card 1 to John C. Breckenridge, President of the United States Senate (and Vice-President under President James Buchanan).

2. Pass out Role Card 2 to the Narrator

3. Pass out Role Card 3 to Stephen A. Douglas, United States Senator from Illinois.

4. Pass out Role Card 4 to Samuel Houston, United States Senator from Texas.

5. Pass out Role Card 5 to the President of the Texas Legislature

6. Pass out Role Card 6 to Alfred Iverson, United States Senator from Georgia.

7. Pass out Role Card 7 to Senators in favor of the Kansas/Nebraska Bill (about 90 percent of remaining class members).

8. Pass out Roll Card 8 to Senators against the Kansas/Nebraska Bill (about 10 percent of remaining class members).

9. Sit down. John C. Breckinridge, President of the United States Senate will then commence the Simulation. The class will now extemporaneously carry out the Simulation per their assigned role, directions, and instructions on their role cards.

Role Card 1

Role: John C. Breckenridge— President of the United States Senate (and Vice-President of the United States of America under President James Buchanan).

Time: 1854

Place: The United States Senate

When your instructor sits down, come to the front of the room, write on the chalkboard, "The United States Senate—1854." Then announce the opening of the United States Senate. First, recognize Senator Stephen A. Douglas when he rises to be recognized. (He will be introducing the Kansas/Nebraska Bill.)

After Senator Douglas introduces his bill, allow various other Senators to be recognized to BRIEFLY speak for and against the Kansas/Nebraska Bill (EXCEPT SENATOR HOUSTON OF TEXAS). When you have allowed a reasonable amount of time for various Senators to briefly speak on the Bill, then again recognize Senator Douglas. Next, allow Senator Houston to argue against the merits of the Bill. Allow a back and forth exchange between Senators Douglas and Houston. Do not allow any other Senator to speak once Senators Douglas and Houston have debated the issue. When you believe Senators Douglas and Houston have had sufficient time to debate the issues of the Bill, call for a "raised-hands" vote. Announce after the voting, "The Kansas/Nebraska Act passes by a vote of 73 to 3 in favor."

Then pass out to every Simulation participant the three newspapers concerned with the Kansas/Nebraska Act (shown on one sheet of paper you are to obtain in advance of the Samuel Houston Simulation from your instructor). After passing out the newspapers, return to your classroom seat. You have completed your assigned role.

Role Card 2

Role: Narrator (may be the instructor if the Instructor prefers)

Time: 1857-1860

Place: Texas

After a favorable vote is taken on the Kansas/Nebraska Act, and the President of the Senate has passed out newspapers vilifying Senator Houston's stand on the Kansas/Nebraska Act, and when the President of the Senate, after passing out the newspapers sits down, you go to the front of the room and erase the chalkboard and replace it with, "Texas—1857."

Then state to the Texans (all the Simulation participants) the following:

"Sam Houston ran for Governor of Texas in 1857 while still a United States Senator. He was defeated. He then was dismissed in the same year by the Texas Legislature as their United States Senator."

Pause, then go to the chalkboard and change the date from "1857" to "1859." Then state to the Texans (all the Simulation participants) the following:

"Sam Houston wins the Texas Governorship in 1859 as an Independent candidate!" Then sit down.

* * * \

Abraham Lincoln was elected President in 1860. The Texas Legislature, in defiance of Governor Houston, adopted an "Ordinance of Secession" out of fear that Lincoln, upon taking office in March of 1861, would try to abolish slavery in the South. Only seven members of the Texas Legislature voted against Secession. A month later the citizens of Texas voted in favor of Secession. During the month, Governor Houston spoke throughout the state in opposition and was frequently in danger for his very life.

On February 23, 1861, Texas voted for Secession by a vote of 109 to 2 and declared Texas to be a part of the Southern Confederacy and that all state officers had to take an oath of allegiance.

Sam Houston refused to acknowledge the existence of the Convention, and thus his office was declared vacant.

This concludes the Sam Houston Simulation.

Role Card 3

Role: Stephen A. Douglas, United States Senator from Illinois

Time: 1820-1860

Place: The United States Senate

When John C. Breckenridge, President of the United States Senate, writes the "United States Senate—1854," rise to introduce and simply state that the Kansas/Nebraska Bill provides that two new territories, Kansas and Nebraska, be carved out of Indian land. Then sit down. But after several other Senators have debated your Kansas/Nebraska Act, rise again to be recognized. This time you forcefully argue that you and other Midwesterners want to see the region opened for settlement. You also want to see a railroad built from Chicago to the Pacific Coast which would be facilitated by the creation of these two new territories. You state the approval of your Bill continues the governmental policy of "Manifest Destiny." Sit down. When recognized again, speak in favor of your Bill and again sit down. (Senator Houston of Texas will then be recognized to speak against your Bill when you sit down.)

When Senator Houston argues against your Bill, rise and vigorously debate back and forth with him. State the Act provides for "popular sovereignty" in Kansas and Nebraska. This provision of your Bill states that all questions relating to the issue of slavery in the new territories are to be decided by the settlers themselves, rather than by Congress.

You further declare in the debate with Senator Houston, that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 is to be considered "inoperative and void."

You forcefully argue, with persuasive reasons, why the Kansas/ Nebraska Bill should be passed. Finally, ask the President of Senate to call for a vote on your Bill.

Role Card 4

Role: Samuel Houston, United States Senator from Texas

Time: 1820-1860

Place: The United States Senate

When the Kansas/Nebraska Bill has been presented by Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois to the United States Senate for debate, and after Senator Douglas has again been recognized to speak to urge its passage, rise to be recognized by the President of the Senate to speak against Senator Douglas' Bill.

When recognized, tell your fellow Senators why the Kansas/Nebraska Bill should not be passed. Particularly look at Senator Douglas as you make your remarks. You state it is bad policy, it repeals the Missouri Compromise of 1820. It unnecessarily reopens the slavery extension issue thought settled in the Compromise of 1850. You remind fellow Senators that the Compromise of 1850 permitted residents of the vast territory from Iowa to the Rockies to decide the slavery question for themselves.

State: "This is an eminently perilous measure; and do you expect me to remain here silent, or to shrink from the discharge of my duty in admonishing the South of what I conceive the results will be? I will speak in spite of all intimidations, or threats, or discountenances that may be thrown upon me. Sir, the charge that I am going with the Abolitionists or Free-Soilers affect me not. The discharge of conscious duty prompts me often to confront the united array of the very section of the country in which I reside, in which my associates are, in which my affections rest....Sir, if this is a boon that is offered to propitiate the South, I as a Southern man, repudiate it. I will have none of it....Our children are either to live, in after times, in the enjoyment of peace, of harmony, and prosperity, or the alternative remains for them of anarchy, discord, and civil broil. We can avert the last. I trust we shall....I adjure you to regard the contract once made to harmonize and preserve the Union. Maintain the Missouri Compromise of 1820! Stir not up agitation! Give us peace!"

When Senator Douglas responds to your remarks, continue to debate him against his proposed Kansas/Nebraska Act until the President of the

Senate calls for a vote on the issue. Then take your seat and vote against the Kansas/Nebraska Bill. However, the Bill is passed.

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When the Narrator announces that Sam Houston has been elected Governor of Texas as an Independent in 1859, and then sits down, come to the front of the room and sit down behind the Speaker of the Texas Legislature. The Speaker will then announce the opening of the 1860 Texas Legislature and that you will address the Texas Legislature. Come up front to address the Texas Legislature (all Simulation participants). Shake the Speaker's hand, then commence your address after the applause has died down.

You state the following in your address:

"....Notwithstanding the ravings of deluded zealots, or the impious threats of fanatical disunionists, the love of our common country still burns with the fire of the olden time...in the hearts of the conservative people of Texas....Texas will maintain the Constitution and stand by the Union. It is all that can save us as a nation. Destroy it, and anarchy awaits us...." Then sit down.

****

When you are again introduced to speak to the Texas Legislature in September 1860, in reply to being called a "traitor" to Texas by Southern newspapers, a "Texas Brutus" by Senator Iverson of South Carolina and other politicians, you answer their charges as follows:

"I ask not the defeat of sectionalism, but of nationality....These are no new sentiments to me. I uttered them in the American Senate in 1856. I utter them now. I was denounced then as a traitor. I am denounced now. Be it so! Men whom never endured privation, the toil, the peril that I have for my country call me a traitor because I am willing to yield obedience to the Constitution and the constituted authorities. Let them suffer what I have for this Union, and they will feel it entwining so closely around their hearts that it will be like snapping the cords of life to give it up....What are the people who call me a traitor? Are they those who march under the national flag and are ready to defend it. That is my banner!....and so long as it waves proudly o'er me, even as it has waved amid stormy scenes where men were not, I can forget that I am called a traitor."

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The Narrator concludes the Samuel Houston Simulation.

Role Card 5

Role: President of the Texas Legislature

Time: 1860

Place: The Texas Legislature

When the Narrator announces that Sam Houston has been elected Governor of Texas as an Independent in 1859, and then sits down, come to the front of the room and announce the opening of the 1860 Texas Legislature. Then, announce, "Governor Sam Houston will now speak."

Governor Houston comes up front to address the Texas Legislature (all Simulation participants). You shake his hand, then sit down behind him. Governor Houston states that Texas will remain in the Union. The Narrator will now state that "Southern states called Governor Houston a "traitor" for refusing to send delegates to protest assaults upon the institution of slavery and upon the rights of the South."

* * * *

Role Card 6

Role: Alfred Iverson, United States Senator from Georgia

Time: 1820-1860

Place: The United States Senate

When the Narrator introduces your name to speak, you do so in the context of Governor Sam Houston of Texas preventing Texas being represented at the Southern Conference, sponsored by South Carolina whose purpose is to protest "assaults upon the institution of slavery and upon the rights of the South." You rise from your seat and angrily declare: "A Texas Brutus is needed to rid this country of the hoary-headed incubus!"

Role Card 7

Role: United States Senator in favor of the Kansas/Nebraska Bill

Time: 1854

Place: The United States Senate

Keep rising to be recognized by the President of the Senate until you have had a chance to speak *one time*. When finally recognized to speak, you vigorously speak in favor of the Kansas/Nebraska Bill

Role Card 8

Role: United States Senator against the Kansas/Nebraska Bill

Time: 1854

Place: The United States Senate

Keep rising to be recognized by the President of the Senate until you have had a chance to speak *one time*. When finally recognized to speak, you vigorously speak against the Kansas/Nebraska Bill

Review, Summarization, and Reinforcement

1. Ask the students what they liked about the Simulation.

2. Ask the students how the Simulation could have been improved.

3. Ask the students what they learned from the Simulation.

4. Ask what the Kansas/Nebraska Act was

This bill was passed by the United States Congress in 1854 which established the Kansas and Nebraska territories. The bill called for "popular sovereignty" (squatter sovereignty). An amendment in the bill repealed the antislavery clause of the Missouri Compromise. The squatter sovereignty provision caused both proslavery and antislavery forces to try to swing the popular decision in Kansas in their favor. The tragedy of "bleeding Kansas" resulted, and sectional division reached a point that precluded reconciliation and culminated in the Civil War.

5. Ask what some of the factors were that gave rise to the Kansas/ Nebraska Act.

Controversy over slavery and conflict over the route of the proposed continental railroad had delayed territorial organization of the region. Four attempts to organize a single territory had been defeated by Southern opposition to the Missouri Compromise, which had barred slavery from the territory. In order to resolve the conflict over the transcontinental railroad route and the slavery issue in the area, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois presented the bill in a concession to the South that created TWO territories, instead of one, and repealed the antislavery clause of the Missouri Compromise.

6. Ask what Manifest Destiny means.

This was a 19th century doctrine that the United States had both a duty and a right to expand its territory and influence throughout North America. It reflected a growing spirit of confidence in an age of population increase and westward movement. The concept was invoked as justification of the Spanish-American War of 1898.

7. Do you believe Senator Houston should have taken the stand he took in opposing the Kansas/Nebraska Bill? Why or why not?

8. What were some of the courageous acts of Sam Houston? Why were they courageous?

9. Should Sam Houston have been more a representative of his state rather than the Union? Why or why not?

10. Should Senators be representatives of their state first, their section of the country first, or the nation as a whole first? Answer which, when, why, and under what circumstances on these questions?

11. Ask students what are the consequences of going against majority opinion? When should this be done? Are there times when it is better to "go along with the crowd," even if you do not agree with majority opinion? If so, under what circumstances is it acceptable to "go along with the crowd?" Under what circumstances is it better *not* to go along with the crowd? What can be the expected consequences when not going along with the crowd? Is it really worth it? Why or why not?

RICHMOND ENQUIRER

Senator Houston's continued support for the obsolete, so-called "Missouri Compromise" is treachery; nor can anything save the traitor from the deep damnation which such treason may merit.

DALLAS HERALD

Senator Sam Houston's vote against the Kansas/Nebraska Bill is not in accordance with the sentiments of the Democracy of Texas. Texans demand that Senator Houston resign the seat to which Texans had proudly sent him, instead of retaining a position he has forfeited by misrepresenting them....Let him heed for once the voice of an outraged, misrepresented, and betrayed constituency, so that Texas may for once have a united voice and present an undivided front in the Senate.

CLARKSVILLE STANDARD

Senator Houston's continued support for the Missouri Compromise is not the first offense against Texas interests. His vote, backing down on the Oregon question, and now his vote against the Kansas/Nebraska Act, is the last feather that broke the camel's back. Texas needs a Senator that speaks for Texans!

PART THREE

Part Three includes the Simulations of Edmund G. Ross and Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar. These Simulations primarily cover the period from 1867 to 1878. This was the period of Reconstruction, a period in which interests of the Senate turned more and more toward economic matters, special interests, and the admission of Western states. It was the period in which President Andrew Johnson was impeached but found "Not guilty" of "high crimes and misdemeanors." It was a period of great conflict between the executive and the legislative branches for power dominance. It was a period in which there were not too many shining examples of Senatorial imminences...but there were exceptions, e.g., Edmund G. Ross and Lucius Quintus Cinncinatus Lamar.

* * *

It will be helpful to Simulation participants, as well as to any audience, to have name and title identification cards that are easily visible to all. Such identification cards should be placed where the participants sit or stand for easy identification and to facilitate the Simulation.

An 8 1/2 x 11 inch sheet of heavy paper or cardboard, folded two times lengthwise, makes an acceptable identifier. Simulation participants can be asked to prepare their own identifier.

EDMUND G. ROSS

INTRODUCTION

Edmund G. Ross, Republican Senator from Kansas rests in a lonely grave—"the man who saved a President," a Senator who performed one of the most heroic acts in American history. It was Senator Ross' vote that saved President Andrew Johnson from being removed from office in 1868.

President Johnson, in a bitter struggle with radical Republicans and with Congress, was determined to carry out assassinated President Lincoln's policies of reconciliation with the defeated South. Radical Republicans sought to administer the downtrodden Southern states as conquered provinces which had forfeited their rights under the Constitution. President Johnson wanted reconciliation, radical Republicans wanted revenge for the loss of Union lives. A powerful struggle for supremacy over this issue between its executive and legislative branches was the result—two very different approaches towards the defeated South.

OBJECTIVES

As participants in the Edmund G. Ross Simulation, each student will:

1. Research the historical period in the United States from 1866 to 1878.

2. Research the specific role to which he/she is assigned *and* how the person assigned voted on each of the issues taken up in the Simulation.

3. Actively involve himself/herself extemporaneously in the Simulation. As a consequence, each student will:

   1) Learn what the events were that led up to the War between the States (the Civil War).
   2) Learn what impeachment means.
   3) Learn where impeachment proceedings originate in the case of a President.

4) Learn where an impeachment trial of a President is held.
5) Learn who serves as jurors at an impeachment trial of a President.
6) Learn how many votes are required to "convict" a President.
7) Learn the importance that a single vote may have.
8) Learn what Reconstruction was.
9) Consider and debate whether or not Senator Ross should have voted against the removal of President Andrew Johnson.

STRATEGY

Preparation

Say to the students that they are to research the historical period from 1866-1878 with respect to the governance of the United States of America.

Further state for this period that students are to particularly study the political careers of Edmund G. Ross and President Andrew Johnson.

Tell students that their research will culminate in a Simulation, that it will be "The Edmund G. Ross Simulation," based upon John F. Kennedy's Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Profiles in Courage*.

After students have had a sufficient number of days to study their general assignment, assign the following specific roles to those students who are most likely to best fit each role:

Narrator (may be the instructor if the Instructor prefers)

Schuyler Colfax—Speaker of the House of Representatives

Thaddeus Steven—Radical Republican Congressman from Pennsylvania

Democrat Congressmen (listed below by name)

Radical Republican Congressmen (listed below by name)

General Benjamin F. Butler—Chief Manager of the House of Representatives

G. S. Boutwell—Assistant Manager for the House of Representatives

Henry Stanberry—President Andrew Johnson's Chief Counsel

Benjamin R. Curtis, Assistant to Chief Counsel Stanberry

William M. Evarts, Assistant to Chief Counsel Stanberry

Henry Anthony, Radical Republican Senator from Rhode Island

Simon Cameron, Radical Republican Senator from Pennsylvania

Zachariah Chandler, Radical Republican Senator from Michigan

Roscoe Conkling, Radical Republican Senator from New York

George Edmunds, Radical Republican Senator from Vermont

Frederick Frelinghusen, Radical Republican Senator from New Jersey

Jacob Howard, Radical Republican Senator from Michigan

Lot Morril, Radical Republican Senator from Maine

Samuel Pomeroy, Radical Republican Senator from Kansas

William Sprague, Radical Republican Senator from Rhode Island

Charles Sumner, Radical Republican Senator from Massachusetts

Benjamin Wade, Radical Republican Senator from Ohio

Waitman Willey, Radical Republican Senator from West Virginia

William Pitt Fessenden, Republican Senator from Maine

Lyman Trumbull, Republican Senator from Illinois

Edmund G. Ross, Republican Senator from Kansas

James W. Grimes, Republican Senator from Iowa

James Dixon, Republican Senator from Connecticut

Thomas A. Hendricks, Republican Senator from Indiana

Thomas McCreery, Republican Senator from Kentucky

James R. Doolittle, Democrat Senator from New York

Spectators in the United States Senate

Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court

The Simulation

Announce to the class when the Simulation will be conducted, allowing sufficient time to research individual assigned roles.

Prepare role cards for each class member (copies can be made of the roles on a copy machine, if you prefer). It is recommended that on the back of each role card the name of the individual assigned to the role be written in pencil beforehand. This will save considerable time when the Simulation is conducted. Moreover, by simply erasing the names on the role cards after the Simulation has been conducted and role cards returned, they can be used over and over again a number of times without the necessity of preparing a replacement role card.

Ask students to "live" their roles, to become involved and to imagine themselves in the House of Representatives and the United States Senate in 1868. State, the Impeachment of President Andrew Johnson is being debated.

Pass out Role Card 1 to the Narrator (or reserve this role for Instructor if the Instructor prefers). The Narrator/Instructor will now commence the Simulation. The class is to extemporaneously carry out the Simulation per their assigned role, directions, and instructions on their role cards. State, the Edmund G. Ross Simulation now begins.

Role Card 1

Role: Narrator (or Instructor, if the Instructor prefers)

Time: 1868

Place: The United States House of Representatives

Come to the front of the room, write on the chalkboard, "The United States House of Representatives—1868." Then extemporaneously state: Now hear the background for the Edmund G. Ross Simulation which is concerned with the trial and impeachment of President Andrew Johnson:

As Vice-President of the United States, Andrew Johnson succeeded to the Presidency when John Wilkes Booth assassinated President Abraham Lincoln during a performance of *Our American Cousin* in the Ford Theater on April 14, 1865.

Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, had been the only Southern member of Congress to refuse to secede with his state. President Johnson was committed to carry out President Lincoln's nonpunitive policy toward the South and to bring Southern states back into the Union as quickly as possible...and to heal the wounds of the Civil War.

"Radical Republicans" wanted to punish the Southern states. To get their way they believed that the only way to overcome President Johnson's veto of their harsh measures was to impeach him.

Senator Jim Lane of Kansas was a "Conservative Republican," sympathetic to President Johnson's plans to carry out Lincoln's benign reconstruction policies. But Lane's state was one of the most "radical" in the Union. When Lane voted to uphold President Johnson's veto of the Civil Rights Bill of 1866 and then had the "audacity" of introducing the administration's bill for the recognition of the new state government of Arkansas, Lane was vilified at a mass meeting in Lawrence, Kansas. Humiliated, mentally ailing, broken in health, and accused of financial irregularities, Senator Lane committed suicide on July 1, 1866.

Radical Republicans in Congress could not be more pleased with Lane's replacement—Edmund G. Ross, the very man who had introduced resolutions attacking Lane at Lawrence, Kansas.

Ross' career as a newspaperman was one of determined opposition to the slave states of the South. When only 28 years old, he had taken part in the mob rescue of a fugitive slave in Wisconsin.

In the Senate, Senator Ross in one of his first acts, read a declaration of his adherence to Radical Republican policy, and voted for all their measures. Nevertheless, with the "impeachment trial" of President Andrew Johnson before the Senate, Senator Ross casually remarked to Senator Sprague of Rhode Island, "Well, Sprague, the thing is here; and, so far as I am concerned, though a Republican and opposed to Mr. Johnson and his policy, he shall have as fair a trial as an accused man ever had on this earth."

Immediately, the word was spread that "Ross was shakey."

Steps to Follow

1. Now state: "The House of Representatives has just adjourned. You Representatives are on your way home. Each of you buy the *Washington Post*. Here it is."

2. Pass out *only* Newspaper Card 1 to every Simulation participant (which you should have in hand before the Simulation begins, along with News Cards 2 and 3).

3. As soon as all "newspapers" have been "sold" (passed out), go to the chalkboard and write "United States House of Representatives," and below it write, "February 23, 1868"

4. Pass out Role Card 2. Ask the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Schuyler Colfax, to step to the front of the House Chamber to assume his/her role. Sit down.

5. After Speaker Colfax has performed his/her role, allow about 3 minutes of informal discussion. Students should be beginning to get involved in the Simulation.

6. After the short break, erase "February 23, 1868" on the chalkboard and replace it with "February 24, 1868"

7. Pass out Role Card 3 to Thadeus Steven.

8. Pass out Role Card 4 to five Democratic Congressmen.

9. Pass out Role Card 5 to Republican Congressmen (all remaining students who do not have a specific role in the United States House of Representatives).

10. When the impeachment proceedings are concluded, adjourn until the next class session. Remind the students before class adjournment that at the next class session the Trial of President Andrew Johnson will take place. (However, if your class meets for long blocks of time, and if you wish to have the trial the same day, take about a 15 to 20 minute break at this time to set the mood and the conditions for the trial itself).

11. Ask that all Simulation role cards be returned to you as students file out of the classroom.

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12. Write on the chalkboard, "United States Senate," and below it write, "March 5-May 16, 1868"

13. Pass out Role Card 6 to General Benjamin F. Butler.

14. Pass out Role Card 7 to G. S. Boutwell

15. Pass out Role Card 8 to Henry Stanberry

16. Pass out Role Card 9 to Benjamin R. Curtis

17. Pass out Role Card 10 to William M. Evarts

18. Pass out Role Card 11 to Henry Anthony

19. Pass out Role Card 12 Simon Cameron

20. Pass out Role Card 13 Zachariah Chandler

21. Pass out Role Card 14 Roscoe Conkling

22. Pass out Role Card 15 to George Edmunds

23. Pass out Role Card 16 to Frederick Frelinghusen

24. Pass out Role Card 17 to Jacob Howard

25. Pass out Role Card 18 to Lot Morril

26. Pass out Role Card 19 to Samuel Pomeroy

27. Pass out Role Card 20 to William Sprague

28. Pass out Role Card 21 to Charles Sumner

29. Pass out Role Card 22 to Benjamin Wade

30. Pass out Role Card 23 to Waitman Willey

31. Pass out Role Card 24 to William Pitt Fessenden

32. Pass out Role card 25 to Lyman Trumbull

33. Pass out Role Card 26 to Edmund G. Ross

34. Pass out Role Card 27 to James W. Grimes

35. Pass out Role Card 28 to James Dixon

36. Pass out Role Card 29 to Thomas A. Hendricks

37. Pass out Role Card 30 to Thomas McCreery

38. Pass out Role Card 31 to James R. Doolittle

39. Pass out Role Card 32 to Spectators

40. Pass out Role Card 33 to Salmon P. Chase

41. Ask Supreme Court Justice to take his/her place in front of the room.

42. Pass out the March 16, 1868 *Philadelphia Press* (Newspaper Card 2) to everyone.

43. Order that, "All Republicans are to sit on the right side of these Senate chambers, all Democrats in the middle of these Senate chambers, and all spectators are to sit on the left side of the Senate chambers. Prosecutors and counsels are to sit in front.

44. Sit down. The Chief Justice is now to assume his role.

45. After the first roll call vote and its adjournment for ten days (about ten minutes), give Senator Edmund Ross the May 16, 1868 *Telegram* (Card 3). Senator Ross is to then read the telegram aloud, followed by his reply to be given aloud to those present

46. Erase March 5—May 16, 1868 on the chalkboard and replace that date with May 26, 1868. Then state, "This is the date for the third and final unsuccessful attempt made to remove President Andrew Johnson from office."

47. Ask that ALL Simulation cards be returned to you after the end of the trial (second roll call vote).

Role Card 2

Role: Schuyler Colfax—Speaker of the House of Representatives

Time: February 23, 1868 (and February 24, 1868)

Place: United States House of Representatives

When you are presented by the Narrator to open the House of Representatives, state, "It is now February 23, 1868. The House is called to order."

Announce that the House Judiciary Committee, by a five to four vote, has recommended that President Andrew Johnson be impeached under eleven Articles of Impeachment and removed from office. Among these eleven Articles are the following:

1. Vetoing the First Reconstruction Act
2. Violating the Tenure of Office Act;
3. The Alaska Purchase Treaty;
4. The Second, Third, and Fourth Reconstruction Acts;
5. President Johnson's role in Mississippi.

State that the House will take up the recommendations of the House Judiciary Committee tomorrow, February 24, 1868.

(adjourn for about three minutes)

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Now state, "It is now February 24, 1868. The House is called to order."

Announce that debate is now open concerning the recommendation that President Andrew Johnson be impeached. Be impartial. Do not permit a vote to take place until everyone who wants to speak has a chance to briefly speak *one* time. After everyone has had a chance to speak *one* time, call the debate to a close. Then ask for a roll call vote favoring or not favoring the eleven Articles of charges against the President.

Record the vote on the chalkboard, announce the results to the House, and declare the President impeached.

Adjourn. (Sit down in your classroom seat).

Role Card 3

Role: Thadeus Steven—Radical Republican from Pennsylvania—a cripple—a fanatic

Time: February 23-24, 1868

Place: The United States House of Representatives

You are in favor of the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson.

Among other things, you state, when you rise to be recognized to speak by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

"Let me see the recreant who would vote to let such a criminal escape. Point me to one who will dare do it and I will show you one who will dare the infamy of posterity!"

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Role Card 4

Role: Democrat Congressmen (Five Role Cards)

Time: February 23-24, 1868

Place: The United States House of Representatives

You are opposed to the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson.

Stand to be recognized by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. When recognized, speak strongly against his impeachment. State, among other things, that the United States Supreme Court probably will find the Tenure-of-Office Act unconstitutional. State that President Johnson should have the right to choose his own Cabinet members, that he has not behaved unjustly towards Congress, nor has he attempted to prevent the enforcement of the Reconstruction Acts, that the South must be taken back into the Union as soon as possible so as to heal the wounds of the terrible conflict.

Role Card 5

Role: Radical Republican Congressmen (all remaining students who do not have a specific role in the United States House of Representatives).

Time: February 23-24, 1868

Place: The United States House of Representatives

You strongly favor the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson.

Rise to be recognized by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. When recognized to speak, speak strongly in favor of the impeachment for the following reasons:

1. Johnson's veto of the First Reconstruction Act (1867)
2. The President's violation of the Tenure-of-Office Act (1867)
3. Signing the Alaska Purchase Treaty (1867)
4. The President's Second, Third, and Fourth Reconstruction Acts (1867-68)
5. The Mississippi v. Johnson suit (1867)

You point out that slavery has been a terrible evil and that white Southerners, therefore, are evil and need to be punished for having kept slaves, for seceding and therefore trying to destroy the Union. The South must be treated as a conquered nation until it is assured that it clearly has learned its lesson. President Johnson is entirely too forgiving of the evil deeds of the South. Congress must determine Reconstruction policies, *not* the President!

Role Card 6

Role: General Benjamin F. Butler—Chief Manager of the House of Representatives

Time: March 5 - May 26, 1868

Place: The United States Senate

Rise to speak. When recognized to speak by the President of the United States Senate, you vigorously argue before the Senate that President Andrew Johnson *is guilty* of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives.

You are assisted in your argument by Thaddeus Stevens and G. S. Boutwell.

Role Card 7

Role: G. S. Boutwell—Assistant Manager of the House of Representatives

Time: March 5 - May 26, 1868

Place: The United States Senate

You assist General Butler in the prosecution of President Andrew Johnson of being guilty of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives.

Role Card 8

Role: Henry Stanberry—President Andrew's Chief Counsel

Time: March 5 - May 26, 1868

Place: The United States Senate

Rise to speak. When recognized to speak by the President of the United States Senate, you vigorously argue before the Senate that President Andrew Johnson is *not guilty* of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives.

You are assisted in your defense of President Andrew Johnson by Benjamin R. Curtis and William M. Evarts.

Role Card 9

Role: Benjamin R. Curtis—Assistant to Chief Counsel Stanberry

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

You aid Chief Counsel Stanberry in a vigorous defense of President Andrew Johnson as *not being* guilty of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives.

Role Card 10

William M. Evarts—Assistant to Chief Counsel Stanberry

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

You aid Chief Counsel Stanberry in a vigorous defense of President Andrew Johnson as not being guilty of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives.

Role Card 11

Henry Anthony, Radical Republican Senator from Rhode Island

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

If you do not find President Andrew Johnson guilty, you know you will not be reelected. Vote for his conviction. Attempt to get all other Senators to also find the President guilty of all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. Put especially strong pressure on Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas. Try to convince him in every possible way to find President Johnson guilty. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 12

Simon Cameron, Radical Republican Senator from Pennsylvania

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

If you do not find President Andrew Johnson guilty, you know you will not be reelected. Vote for his conviction. Attempt to get all other Senators to also find the President guilty of all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. Put especially strong pressure on Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas. Try to convince him in every possible way to find President Johnson guilty. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

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Role Card 13

Zachariah Chandler, Radical Republican Senator from Michigan

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

If you do not find President Andrew Johnson guilty, you know you will not be reelected. Vote for his conviction. Attempt to get all other Senators to also find the President guilty of all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. Put especially strong pressure on Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas. Try to convince him in every possible way to find President Johnson guilty. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 14

Roscoe Conkling, Radical Republican Senator from New York

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

If you do not find President Andrew Johnson guilty, you know you will not be reelected. Vote for his conviction. Attempt to get all other Senators to also find the President guilty of all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. Put especially strong pressure on Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas. Try to convince him in every possible way to find President Johnson guilty. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 15

George Edmunds, Radical Republican Senator from Vermont

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

If you do not find President Andrew Johnson guilty, you know you will not be reelected. Vote for his conviction. Attempt to get all other Senators to also find the President guilty of all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. Put especially strong pressure on Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas. Try to convince him in every possible way to find President Johnson guilty. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 16

Frederick Frelinghusen, Radical Republican Senator from New Jersey

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

If you do not find President Andrew Johnson guilty, you know you will not be reelected. Vote for his conviction. Attempt to get all other Senators to also find the President guilty of all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. Put especially strong pressure on Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas. Try to convince him in every possible way to find President Johnson guilty. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 17

Jacob Howard, Radical Republican Senator from Michigan

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

If you do not find President Andrew Johnson guilty, you know you will not be reelected. Vote for his conviction. Attempt to get all other Senators to also find the President guilty of all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. Put especially strong pressure on Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas. Try to convince him in every possible way to find President Johnson guilty. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 18

Lot Morril, Radical Republican Senator from Maine

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

If you do not find President Andrew Johnson guilty, you know you will not be reelected. Vote for his conviction. Attempt to get all other Senators to also find the President guilty of all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. Put especially strong pressure on Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas. Try to convince him in every possible way to find President Johnson guilty. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 19

Samuel Pomeroy, Radical Republican Senator from Kansas

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

If you do not find President Andrew Johnson guilty, you know you will not be reelected. Vote for his conviction. Attempt to get all other Senators to also find the President guilty of all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. Put especially strong pressure on Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas. Try to convince him in every possible way to find President Johnson guilty. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 20

William Sprague, Radical Republican Senator from Rhode Island

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

If you do not find President Andrew Johnson guilty, you know you will not be reelected. Vote for his conviction. Attempt to get all other Senators to also find the President guilty of all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. Put especially strong pressure on Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas. Try to convince him in every possible way to find President Johnson guilty. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 21

Charles Sumner, Radical Republican Senator from Massachusetts

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

If you do not find President Andrew Johnson guilty, you know you will not be reelected. Vote for his conviction. Attempt to get all other Senators to also find the President guilty of all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. Put especially strong pressure on Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas. Try to convince him in every possible way to find President Johnson guilty. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 22

Benjamin Wade, Radical Republican Senator from Ohio

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

If you do not find President Andrew Johnson guilty, you know you will not be reelected. Vote for his conviction. Attempt to get all other Senators to also find the President guilty of all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. Put especially strong pressure on Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas. Try to convince him in every possible way to find President Johnson guilty. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 23

Waitman Willey, Radical Republican Senator from West Virginia

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

If you do not find President Andrew Johnson guilty, you know you will not be reelected. Vote for his conviction. Attempt to get all other Senators to also find the President guilty of all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. Put especially strong pressure on Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas. Try to convince him in every possible way to find President Johnson guilty. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 24

William Pitt Fessenden, Republican Senator from Maine

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

Though you are a Republican, you believe the evidence presented before the Senate is not sufficient to find President Andrew Johnson guilty of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. You say so to those who argue for conviction. You vote for acquittal. You find President Johnson not guilty even though you know your vote ends your political career. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 25

Lyman Trumbull, Republican Senator from Illinois

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

Though you are a Republican, you believe the evidence presented before the Senate is not sufficient to find President Andrew Johnson guilty of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. You say so to those who argue for conviction. You vote for acquittal. You find President Johnson not guilty even though you know your vote ends your political career. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

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Role Card 26

Edmund G. Ross, Republican Senator from Kansas

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

You will receive a telegram concerning the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson. When you receive the telegram, read it aloud to those present. Then read your reply to the telegram as follows:

"To D.R. Anthony and 1,000 others: I do not recognize your right to demand that I vote either for or against conviction. I have taken an oath to do impartial justice according to the Constitution and laws, and trust that I shall have the courage to vote according to the dictates of my judgment and for the highest good of the country."

Though you are a Republican, you believe the evidence presented before the Senate is not sufficient to find President Andrew Johnson guilty of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. But you do *not* enter into the debate. To anyone who exerts pressure on you as to how you will or should vote, be noncommittal. Do not state how you intend to vote. When the time finally comes to vote, find President Johnson *not* guilty, even though you know your vote ends your political career.

Role Card 27

James W. Grimes, Republican Senator from Iowa

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

Though you are a Republican, you believe the evidence presented before the Senate is not sufficient to find President Andrew Johnson guilty of the 11 Articles of Impeachment adopted by the United States House of Representatives. You say so to those who argue for conviction. You vote for acquittal. You find President Johnson not guilty even though you know your vote ends your political career. During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 28

James Dixon, James A. Dixon, Republican Senator from Connecticut

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

Your reelection depends on your finding President Johnson *no* guilty. Vote against all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment. Attempt to get all other Senators to vote against convicting the President. Especially try to get Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas to vote "not guilty." During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 29

Thomas A. Hendricks, Republican Senator from Indiana

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

Your reelection depends on your finding President Johnson *no* guilty. Vote against all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment. Attempt to get all other Senators to vote against convicting the President. Especially try to get Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas to vote "not guilty." During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 30

Thomas McCreery, Republican Senator from Kentucky

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

Your reelection depends on your finding President Johnson *no* guilty. Vote against all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment. Attempt to get all other Senators to vote against convicting the President. Especially try to get Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas to vote "not guilty." During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 31

James R. Doolittle, Democrat Senator from New York

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

Your reelection depends on your finding President Johnson *no* guilty. Vote against all of the 11 Articles of Impeachment. Attempt to get all other Senators to vote against convicting the President during any break. Especially try to get Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas to vote "not guilty." During any breaks, try to get those opposing your views to vote your way.

Role Card 32

Role: Spectator (all students who do not have an assigned role)

Time: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: The United States Senate

Every time the Senate recesses, you corner those Republican Senators who have not stated how they intend to vote or who favor the acquittal of President Andrew Johnson to change their vote. You threaten them with the loss of reelection, you offer bribes, you even suggest that they might be assassinated if they do not vote to convict President Johnson under the Articles of Impeachment. You exert pressure on all doubtful Senators and try to change the minds of those who have declared they intend to vote "Not guilty."

Role Card 33

Role: Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court

Date: March 5-May 26, 1868

Place: United States Senate

When the Narrator asks you to take your place in front of the room, take your place and state that the Senate has been called into session to act as a jury because of the impeachment by the House of Representatives of President Andrew Johnson for "high crimes and misdemeanors" as set forth by the 11 Articles of Impeachment.

You swear in each Senator by asking him to affirm "to do impartial justice."

You permit and recognize the prosecution, headed by Benjamin F. Butler, the Chief Manager of the House of Representatives to speak first.

Following the Chief Manager's oral arguments, you permit the defense, headed by Henry Stanberry, to speak.

Following the defense arguments, you permit both the prosecution and the defense to rebut the other. You then call for a summation by each side—the defense first. Afterwards the prosecution.

After each side has made their summation, you then ask for a roll call vote of all Senators in the order listed (as shown on the next page) as to whether "...the respondent Andrew Johnson is guilty or not guilty of high misdemeanor as charged in Article One." (write on the chalkboard, "14 votes needed to convict.")

When the voting fails to achieve a two-thirds majority, you state, "A two-thirds majority not having voted for conviction, the President is, therefore, acquitted under this Article.")

Now call for a ten day recess (about ten minutes). After the recess, announce that further arguments by the prosecution and the defense will be heard. After further arguments by both sides, announce that "Voting will now take place on the Second Article of Impeachment."

Again ask for a roll call vote in the order listed. Ask, "Is the respondent Andrew Johnson guilty or not guilty of a high misdemeanor as charged in the Second Article of Impeachment"

When voting fails by a two-thirds majority, you state, "A two-thirds majority not having voted for conviction, the President is therefore acquitted under Article Two for the Articles of Impeachment."

After further arguments by both the prosecution and the defense, announce that voting will now take place on the Third Article of Impeachment."

When voting fails by a two-thirds majority, you state, "A two-thirds majority not having voted for conviction, the President is therefore acquitted under Article Three of the Articles of Impeachment."

PAUSE.

State, "Since no further roll call votes have been called for, the President is therefore declared 'not guilty.' These proceedings are adjourned."

Roll Call of Senators in the Order to be Called

(G=Guilty; NG=Not guilty)

1) Benjamin Wade-OH (G)
2) Charles Sumner-MA (G)
3) William Sprague-RI (G)
4) William Fessenden-ME (NG)
5) Samuel Pomeroy-KS (G)
6) James R. Doolittle-NY (NG)
7) Simon Cameron-PA (G)
8) Thomas McCreery-KY (NG)
9) Jacob Howard-MI (G)
10) Lot Morrill-ME (G)
11) Lyman Trumbal-IL (NG)
12) Henry Anthony-RI (G)
13) Thomas A. Hendricks-IN (NG)
14) Waitman Willey-WV (G)
15) George Edmunds-VT (G)
16) James Dixon-CT (NG)
17) Frederick Frelinghusen-NJ (G)
18) Edmund G. Ross-KS (NG)
19) Roscoe Conkling-NY (G)
20) Zachariah Chandler-MI (G)
21) James W. Grimes-IA (NG)

Review, Summarization, and Reinforcement

1. Ask the students what they liked about the Simulation.
2. Ask the students how the Simulation could have been improved.
3. Ask the students what they learned from the Simulation.
4. Ask what "impeachment" means:

Indict—to charge with a crime or misdemeanor; to accuse; especially to charge (a public officer), before a competent tribunal, with misbehavior in office. Point out to the students that although President Johnson was called to appear at his trial, he never did.

5. Ask where impeachment proceedings originate in the case of a United States President:

In the United States House of Representatives.

6. Ask where an impeachment trial of a United States President is held:

In the United States Senate.

7. Ask who serves as jurors at a President's impeachment trial:

United States Senators.

8. Ask how many votes are necessary to convict a President?

A two-thirds majority of the Senators (today 67 votes would be necessary to convict).

9. Ask students if one vote really can make a difference.

Yes! In this Simulation, Edmund G. Ross (and other courageous Republicans) saved the three independent branches of government. Ross saved the Presidential system of the United States. Had he voted "guilty" our form of government might be similar to certain other governments in which the government frequently falls because of failure to obtain a "parliamentary" majority on critical issues. Government could easily become "paralyzed."

Point out to your students the importance of voting. For example, only about 22 percent of the eligible voters cast ballots for Jimmy Carter, about 27 percent voted for Ronald Reagan; some 46 percent of those eligible to vote in the 1980 Presidential election between Carter and Reagan stayed home and didn't vote at all. Many people, when asked in a post-election survey why they didn't vote, simply stated, "I'm just one person. My little old vote doesn't make a difference. There is a lot of historical evidence to the contrary.

In 1645, one vote gave Oliver Cromwell control of England. In 1649, one vote caused King Charles of England to be executed. In 1776, one vote gave America the English language instead of German. Later on, first Thomas Jefferson and then John Quincy Adams were elected by one-vote margins in the Electoral College. In 1839, Marcus Morton was elected Governor of Massachusetts by one vote.

In 1845, one vote's difference brought Texas into the Union. A single vote also admitted California, Oregon and Washington into statehood.

In 1868, President Andrew Johnson's impeachment was defeated by a single vote.

In 1876, with the Presidential election thrown into the House of Representatives, Rutherford B. Hayes won by a single vote; it was cast by an Indiana Congressman who himself had been elected by a one-vote margin. That same year, one vote changed France from a monarchy to a republic.

In 1923, Adolph Hitler became leader of the Nazi Party by a one-vote edge.

John F. Kennedy's margin of victory over Richard Nixon was less than one vote per precinct.

YOUR VOTE CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE!

10. Ask what Reconstruction was.

The process of reorganizing the governments of the states which had passed ordinances of secession, and of reestablishing their Constitutional relations to the National Government after the Civil War.

11. Ask students what the Radical Republicans believed in:

1. They were strongly against slavery as a moral evil.

2. They felt that Southern whites had behaved immorally against slaves and prisoners-of-war—especially in Civil War prisons—most notably Andersonville—and therefore should be treated as a conquered nation and punished for their "crimes."

3. They believed that Congress, rather than the President, should determine Reconstruction policies.

4. They had strong compassion for the Southern Negro, but hate for the Southern whites.

5. As a result, the scars of the Civil War (or the Southern term, "War Between the States") still remain, in part, even today.

6. They also believed that Great Britain should pay the United States reparations for losses the North suffered during the Civil War. Great Britain helped the Confederacy with British-built raiders, particularly the Confederate war ship *Alabama* which did considerable damage in the Union coastal areas. In 1871 an international tribunal awarded the U.S.A. $15,500,000 in damages.

12. Ask students if they admired Ross, Trumbull, Fessenden, Grimes, and others for voting the way they did...and why?

These men put principles above self. They demonstrated great courage. They knew full well that when they voted "Not guilty" that it would be the end of their political careers—that they could never be reelected again so strong were the popular feelings against President Johnson at that time.

13. Ask students what are the consequences of going against majority opinion? When should this be done? Are there times when it is better to "go along with the crowd," even if you do not agree with majority opinion? If so, under what circumstances is it acceptable to "go along with the crowd?" Under what circumstances is it better *not* to go along with the crowd? What can be the expected consequences when not going along with the crowd? Is it really worth it? Why or why not?

WASHINGTON POST

February 22, 1868

EXTRA

Johnson Again Removes Stanton as Secretary of War

Yesterday, President Andrew Johnson removed Edwin M. Stanton as Secretary of War and appointed General Lorenzo Thomas in his stead. Stanton's removal is the second time the President has attempted to remove his Secretary. On August 12, 1867, President Johnson suspended Secretary Stanton and appointed General Grant. However, on January 13th of this year, when the Senate reconvened, it notified both the President and General Grant that they did not concur in the suspension.

James Ashley pointed out today that the Tenure-of-Office Act (enacted over the President's veto early last year) is the law of the land and therefore President Johnson has "intentionally broken the law and dictatorially has thwarted the will of Congress."

The Tenure-of-Office Act, passed by Congress last year, forbids the President to remove any officer appointed without the advice and consent of the Senate unless the Senate concurs in the President's recommendation for removal.

Card 1 — EDMUND G. ROSS Simulation

PHILADELPHIA PRESS

March 16, 1868

Editorial Page

Infamy! The Republic has been betrayed in the House of its friends. At a preliminary Republican caucus yesterday, six Republicans stated that the evidence so far introduced was not, in their opinion, sufficient to convict Johnson under the Articles of Impeachment. What more evidence do these so-called Republicans need?

Johnson is obviously guilty. It is hoped that these Republicans will see the light. There are fifty-four members in the Senate. Thirty-six votes are required to constitute the two-thirds majority necessary for conviction. The twelve Democrat votes are lost, thus only six of the forty-two Republican votes can be lost and still convict Acting President Johnson.

Edmund G. Ross of Kansas refused to announce how he would vote in the preliminary poll. Should the six so-called Republicans be joined by Ross, all would be lost.

Card 2 — EDMUND G. ROSS Simulation

TELEGRAM

May 16, 1868

TO: EDMUND G. ROSS

KANSAS HAS HEARD THE EVIDENCE AND DEMANDS THE CONVICTION OF THE PRESIDENT

D. R. ANTHONY AND 1,000 OTHERS

Card 3 — EDMUND G. ROSS Simulation

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LUCIUS QUINTUS CINCINNATUS LAMAR

INTRODUCTION

Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar enjoys the reputation of having the most distinguished career of anyone from the state of Mississippi. His was from a distinguished lineage, including an uncle who was the second President of Texas. Lucius Lamar began his political career in the State Legislature at the age of 26. He served as a United States Congressman from Mississippi shortly before the Civil War broke out. When Mississippi was once again allowed to have a voting voice in the Union, Lucius Lamar represented Mississippi again as a Congressman. He became the leading healer between the North and the South during the Reconstruction period.

Later Lucius Lamar became a United States Senator from Mississippi as its first white Senator after the Civil War. Later, he was elected Chairman of the Democratic Caucus, then Secretary of the Interior, and his career was capped with his appointment as a Justice on the United States Supreme Court.

Senator Lamar was involved in three particularly controversial issues which went against the wishes of his Mississippi constituents. Included were his eulogy of Charles Sumner, his support of the electoral commission which brought about the election of Republican Rutherford B. Hayes as President of the United States, and his opposition to Mississippians strongly felt stand in favor of free silver.

Notwithstanding what most persons of influence believed, that these contrary positions would result in certain defeat in the next Senatorial election, they were wrong. The junior Senator, due to his going directly to the people and carefully explaining that his positions were in the best interest of Mississippians, elucidated with brilliant oratory, he was overwhelmingly reelected to the United States Senate.

The Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar Simulation will be less extemporaneous than most others in the United States History Simulation Series. Nevertheless, a rewarding educational experience will result. The period of Reconstruction, particularly from a personalized Southern perspective, has not often been illuminated. This Simulation will do just that.

OBJECTIVES

As participants in the Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar Simulation, each student will:

1. Research the historical period in the United States from 1850 to 1878.

2. Research the specific role to which he/she is assigned *and* how the person assigned voted on each of the issues taken up in the Simulation.

3. Actively involve himself/herself extemporaneously in the Simulation. As a consequence, each student will:

1) Learn what Reconstruction was.

2) Study the Presidential election events of Rutherford B. Hayes.

3) Learn what the Bland Silver Bill was and why it was proposed.

STRATEGY

Introduction

Say to the students that they are to research the historical period from 1850-1878 with respect to the governance of the United States of America.

Further state for this period that students are to particularly study the life of Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar, the Charles Sumner eulogy by Lucius Lamar, the election of President Rutherford B. Hays, and the Blaine Silver Bill.

Tell students that their research will culminate in a Simulation, that it will be "The Lucius Cincinnatus Lamar Simulation," based upon John F. Kennedy's Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Profiles in Courage*.

After students have had a sufficient number of days to study their general assignment, assign the following specific roles to those students who are most likely to best fit each role:

The Narrator (may be the instructor, if the Instructor prefers)

James Blaine—Speaker of the House of Representatives

Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar—U.S. Congressman and later U.S. Senator from Mississippi

Lyman Tremaine—U.S. Congressman from New York

"Pig Iron" Kelly—U.S. Congressman from Pennsylvania

Carl Schurz—U.S. Congressman from Missouri

Mrs. Lamar—Wife of Congressman/Senator Lamar

Henry Adams—U.S. Congressman from Massachusetts

Henry Waterman—Famous Washington newspaper reporter

George Hoar—U.S. Congressman and later U.S. Senator from Massachusetts

William A. Wheeler—Vice-President of the United States under Rutherford B. Hayes and President of the U.S. Senate

Speaker of the Mississippi Legislature.

Announce to the class when the Simulation will be conducted, allowing sufficient time to research individual assigned roles.

Prepare role cards for each class member (copies can be made of the roles on a copy machine, if you prefer). It is recommended that on the back of each role card the name of the individual assigned to the role be written in pencil beforehand. This will save considerable time when the Simulation is conducted. Moreover, by simply erasing the names on the role cards after the Simulation has been conducted and role cards returned, they can be used over and over again a number of times without the necessity of preparing a replacement role card.

The Simulation

Ask students to "live" their roles, to become involved and to imagine themselves in the United States House of Representatives and Senate during the period 1850-1880. State, three issues will be debated: the

Eulogy of Charles Sumner, the election of Rutherford B. Hayes as President of the United States, and "free silver."

Steps to Follow

1. Pass out Role Card 1 to the Narrator.
2. Pass out Role Card 2 to James Blaine.
3. Pass out Role Card 3 to Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar.
4. Pass out Role Card 4 to Lyman Tremaine.
5. Pass out Role Card 5 to "Pig Iron" Kelly.
6. Pass out Role Card 6 to Carl Schurz.
7. Pass out Role Card 7 to Mrs. Lamar.
8. Pass out Role Card 8 to Henry Adams.
9. Pass out Role Card 9 to Henry Waterman.
10. Pass out Role Card 10 to George Hoar.
11. Pass out Role Card 11 to William A. Wheeler.
12. Pass out Role Card 12 to Speaker of the Mississippi Legislature.

The Narrator is to commence the Simulation. The class will now extemporaneously carry out the Simulation per their assigned role, directions, and instructions on their role cards.

Role Card 1

Role: Narrator (or Instructor, if the Instructor prefers)

Time: 1850-1878

Place: The United States House of Representatives and Senate

You begin the Simulation with an opening overview, extemporaneously state:

During the early Reconstruction days, no state suffered more from carpetbag rule than Mississippi. Adelbert Ames, a native of Maine, took up residence in Mississippi in order to be elected Governor of Mississippi by freed slaves and Radical Republicans, and sustained in office by Federal bayonets. One Cardoza, under indictment for larceny in New York, was placed at the head of Mississippi's public schools. Two former slaves held the offices of Lieutenant Governor and Secretary of State. Taxes were raised 14-fold to support the extravagances of the Reconstruction government and to pay for heavy state and national war debts.

Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar came to understand that the sole hope for the South lay in promoting reconciliation and the development and restitution of normal federal-state relations, and the withdrawal of military rule.

Lamar strived to make the North understand that the abrogation of Constitutional guarantees of Southerners must inevitably affect the liberties of Northerners.

Sit down. When you do so, James Blaine, Speaker of the House of Representatives will continue with the Simulation.

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When Speaker of the House of Representatives, James Blaine, sits down (after Congressmen Lamar, Tremaine, Kelly, and Schurz have also spoken in the U.S. House of Representatives), rise and state:

"No one had ever seen the hardened veteran politician, Speaker of the House James G. Blaine, cry. But there he sat, with tears streaming unashamedly down his cheeks, unable to conceal his emotions from the full view of the House members and spectators. But few on the floor or in its galleries on that dramatic day in 1874 were paying attention to Speaker Blaine, and most were making no attempt to hide their own tears. Democrats and Republicans alike, battle-scarred veterans of the Civil War sat in somber silence, as they listened to the urgent entreaties of the freshman Congressman from Mississippi.

"Speaking simply and clearly, his full, rich voice touched the hearts of every listener with its simple plea for friendship and justice between North and South."

****

You continue by now stating: "Mrs. Lamar received the following letter from her husband."

Mrs. Lamar is now to rise and read aloud the letter from her husband.

Now sit down.

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When Mrs. Lamar sits down, state: "Let us now hear what Congressman Henry Adams has to say.

Now sit down.

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When Congressman Adams has finished speaking, rise and announce: "Let us now hear from Washington reporter Henry Waterman."

Now sit down.

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When Henry Waterman has finished speaking, rise and announce: "Let us now hear from Senator George Hoar."

Now sit down.

****

When Senator Hoar is finished speaking, rise and extemporaneously state that after true reconciliation between North and South began to take hold, thanks largely to Congressman Lamar, a second controversial issue arose over the Presidential election of 1876 between Republican Hayes and Democrat Tilden.

Electoral votes appeared to favor Democrat Tilden. However, with the cooperation of the Republican *New York Times*, Hayes' lieutenants converted the apparent certainty of Tilden's election into doubt by claiming the closely contested states of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida. These carpetbag governments then produced doctored election returns. With rumors of violence, Congress agreed to arbitration by a supposedly nonpartisan Electoral Commission. Lucius Lamar, confident that an objective inquiry would demonstrate the Republican fraud, agreed to this solution to prevent a recurrence of bloodshed between North and South. But when the Commission, acting wholly along party lines, awarded the disputed states and the election to Hayes with 185 electoral votes to 184 for Tilden, the South was outraged. Lamar was accused of trading his vote and his section's honor for a promise of a future position; he was accused of cowardice. His enemies, realizing that six years would have to pass before Senator-elect Lamar would be forced to run for reelection, vowed never to forget his perceived perfidy.

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Continue by saying, now let us hear what the Editor of *Harper's Weekly had* to say about Senator Lamar's defiance of the Mississippi Legislature. Read the following:

"No Senator has shown himself more worthy of universal respect than Mr. Lamar; for none has stood more manfully by his principles, in the face of the most authoritative remonstrance from his state....The Democratic Senator from Mississippi has shown manly courage which becomes an American statesman."

The Nation editorialized that the brief speech of Lucius Lamar in his explanation of his disregard for the instructions of his state, "for manliness, dignity and pathos has never been surpassed in Congress. His vote will probably cost him his seat."

Continue by saying, but Senator Lamar was not a quitter. Though admittedly he had violated the instructions of the Mississippi Legislature, he stated, "I will appeal to the sovereign people, the masters of the Legislature who undertook to instruct me." So, against overwhelming odds for reelection, he launched successive tours of Mississippi, speaking to thousands of citizens in crowded halls and open fields, explaining his vote on the Bland Silver Bill and other issues of controversy.

Now sit down. Senator Lamar will now rise and speak.

****

When Senator Lamar is finished with his "Captain Billy" speech, rise and state, Senator Lamar's tour was tremendously successful. Men who were so hostile that they could hardly be persuaded to hear him at all mounted upon benches and tables, swinging their hats and huzzahing until they were hoarse.

The Yazoo City *Herald* reported that like "the lion at bay," he "conquered the prejudices of hundreds who had been led to believe that his views on certain points were better adapted to the latitude of New England than to that of Mississippi." And shortly thereafter, the Yazoo Democratic County Convention adopted a resolution that their legislators should "vote for him and work for him, first, last, and all the time, as the choice of this people for United States Senator."

He was reelected to the Senate by an overwhelming majority.

Now sit down. Lucius Lamar will now end the Simulation.

Role Card 2

Role: James Blaine—Speaker of the House of Representatives

Time: 1874

Place: United States House of Representatives

When the Narrator sits down, that is your cue you to open the House of Representative. Rise and state, "It is now 1874. The House is called to order."

When you see Representative Lamar rise to be recognized, you state, "The Chair recognizes the Congressman from Mississippi to speak.

When Congressman Lamar is finished speaking, and sits down. Recognize, *in order*, Congressmen Tremaine, Kelly, and Schurz to speak.

When Congressman Schurz is finished speaking, and sits down, you state, with tears in your eyes:

"....it was a mark of positive genius in a Southern representative to pronounce a fervid and discriminating eulogy upon Mr. Sumner, like John Wesley, believed to be the sum of all villanies."

Now sit down. The Narrator will next speak.

Role Card 3

Role: Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar—U. S. Congressman from Mississippi

Time: 1874-1878

Place: The United States House of Representatives and Senate

You are a freshman Congressman from Mississippi after the Civil War. In an attempt to speed along the end of martial law in the South and reconciliation between North and South, you rise to be recognized by the Speaker of the House of Representatives to speak. When recognized you give a eulogy to Radical Republican Charles Sumner, one of the South's most implacable enemy, now dead. You say:

"Charles Sumner, before he died, believed that all occasion for strife and distrust between the North and South had passed away....Is not that the common sentiment—or if it is not, ought it not to be—of the great mass of our people, North and South?....Shall we not, over the honored remains of....this earnest pleader for the exercise of human tenderness and charity, lay aside the concealments which serve only to perpetrate misunderstandings and distrust, and frankly confess that on both sides we most earnestly desire to be one...in feeling and in heart?....Would that the spirit of the illustrious dead whom we lament today could speak from the grave to both parties to this deplorable discord in tones which should reach each and every heart throughout this broad territory: 'My countrymen! Know one another, and you will love one another!'"

* * * \

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You have just received a Resolution from the Speaker of the Mississippi Legislature demanding that you vote in favor of the Bland Silver Bill (and the accompanying Matthews Resolution), and to put forth your best efforts in seeking its passage. You then write to your wife. She will read aloud your letter to her. It is now February 10, 1878. The next day the United States Senate will continue to debate the Bland Silver Bill.

****

It is now February 11, 1878. After most Senators have had their opportunity to debate for and against the Bland Silver Bill, you suddenly rise from your seat, no notes in your hand for you are one of the most brilliant extemporaneous speakers to have ever sat in the Senate.

You apologize to your Senate colleagues by stating, "Although I have already expressed my views on the Bland Silver Bill, I have one other duty to perform; a very painful one, but one which is nonetheless clear.

In your hand you have the Resolution given to you from the Mississippi Legislature instructing you to vote for the Bland Silver Bill. You raise it in the air, and then give it to the President of the Senate. You ask that it be read aloud by the President of the Senate.

When the Mississippi Legislature Resolution has been read, you then speak:

"Mr. President: Between these resolutions and my convictions there is a great gulf. I cannot pass it....Today I must be true or false, honest or cunning, faithful or unfaithful to my people. Even in this hour of disapprobation, I cannot vote as these resolutions direct...."

Sit down.

****

When the Narrator is through discussing your slim chances for reelection to the United States Senate, you rise and give your "Captain Billy" speech to the voters of Mississippi:

"During the War between the States I was in the company of prominent military and civilian officers of the Confederacy on board a blockade runner making for Savannah harbor. Although the high-ranking officers after consultation had decided it was safe to go ahead, the Captain sent Sailor Billy Summers to the top mast to look for Yankee gunboats in the harbor, and Billy said he had seen ten. That distinguished array of officers knew where the Yankee fleet was, and it was *not* in Savannah; and they told the Captain that Billy was wrong and the ship must proceed

ahead. The Captain refused, insisting that while the officers knew a great deal more about military affairs, Billy Summers on the top mast with a powerful glass had a much better opportunity to judge the immediate situation on hand.

"It was later developed that Billy was right, and if they had gone ahead they would have all been captured. And like Billy Summers, I do not claim to be wiser than the Mississippi Legislature. But I did believe that I was in a better position as a Member of the United States Senate to judge what was in the best interest for my constituents.

"Thus it is, my countrymen, you have sent me to the topmost mast, and I tell you what I see. If you say I must come down, I will obey without a murmur, for you cannot make me lie to you; but if you return me, I can only say that I will be true to love of country, truth, and God....I have always thought that the first duty of a public man in a Republic founded upon the sovereignty of the people is a frank and sincere expression of his opinions to his constituents. I prize the confidence of the people of Mississippi, but I never made popularity the standard of my action. I profoundly respect public opinion, but I believe that there is in conscious rectitude of purpose, a sustaining power, which will support a man of ordinary firmness under any circumstances whatever."

Now sit down.

****

When the Narrator is finished by stating you have been reelected to the United States Senate, you rise and complete the Simulation by stating:

"The liberty of this country and its great interests will never be secure if its public men become mere menials to do the biddings of their constituents instead of being representatives in the true sense of the word, looking to the last prosperity and future interests of the whole country."

Now sit down. The actual Simulation is now completed. Your instructor will now review the Simulation with the class.

Role Card 4

Role: Lyman Tremaine—U. S. Congressmen from New York

Time: 1874

Place: The United States House of Representatives

Stand to be recognized by the Speaker of the House of Representatives after Congressman Lamar of Mississippi has given his moving eulogy to Charles Sumner. When recognized, you loudly declare, " My God, what a speech!"

Role Card 5

Role: "Pig Iron Kelly— U. S. Congressmen from Pennsylvania

Time: 1874

Place: The United States House of Representatives

Rise to be recognized by the Speaker of the House of Representatives immediately after Congressman Tremaine States, "My God, what a speech!" When recognized to speak, speak strongly: "It will ring the country!"

Role Card 6

Role: Carl Schurz—U.S. Congressman from Missouri

Time: 1874

Place: The United States House of Representatives

Rise to speak after Congressman Kelly states, "It will ring the country!" When recognized to speak by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, you declare:

"Congressman Lamar's speech is a prophet of a new day in the relations between North and South. The speech is evidence of the restoration of the Union in the South. His is the most significant and hopeful utterance that has been heard from the South since the War."

Now sit down.

Role Card 7

Role: Mrs. Lamar—Wife of Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar and daughter of the President of Mississippi State University at Oxford

Time: 1874

Place: At home in Mississippi

When the Narrator states you have received a letter from your husband, you rise and slowly read it aloud:

My dear wife,

No one here thinks I lowered the Southern flag, but the Southern press is down on me...Our people have suffered so much, have been betrayed so often by those in whom they had the strongest reason to confide, that it is but natural that they should be suspicious of any word or act of overture to the North by a Southern man. I know for once that I have done her good...that I have awakened sympathies where before existed animosities. If she condemns me, while I shall not be indifferent to her disapprobation, I shall not be...resentful. I shall be cheered by the thought that I have done a beneficial thing for her. It is time for a public man to try to serve the South, and not subserve her irritated feelings....I shall serve no other interest than hers, and will calmly and silently retire to private life if her people do not approve me."

Your devoted husband,

Lucius

Now sit down in your classroom place.

****

It is now February 10, 1878. You have just received a letter from your husband. (You know this when you see the Speaker of the Mississippi Legislature give him a Resolution). When the Narrator states you have received a letter from Senator Lamar, you rise from your seat and read it aloud:

"My dear,

I have to follow my conscience and will vote against the instructions of the Mississippi Legislature on the Bland Silver Bill. I wish I were in a financial position to vacate my office without doing my family an injustice.

"This world is a miserable one to me except in its connection with you....I get a great many complimentary letters from the North, very few from Mississippi....Can it be true that the South will condemn the disinterested love of those who, perceiving her real interests, offer their unarmored breasts as barriers against the invasion of error?....It is indeed a heavy cross to lay upon the heart of a public man to have to take a stand which causes the love and confidence of his constituents to flow away from him."

Your devoted husband,

Lucius

Now sit down at your classroom place.

Role Card 8

Role: Henry Adams—U.S. Congressman from Massachusetts

Time: 1874

Place: The United States House of Representatives

Rise to speak when the Narrator calls your name to do so. You state:

"Congressman Lamar is one of the calmest, most reasonable and most amiable men in the United States, and quite unusual in social charm. Above all....he has tact and humor."

Role Card 9

Role: Henry Waterman, a famous Washington reporter

Date: 1874

Place: Washington D.C.

When the Narrator speaks your name, you rise to say: "Congressman Lamar is the most interesting and lovable of men....I rather think that he is the biggest brained of all men I have met in Washington."

Role Card 10

Role: George F. Hoar—U.S. Congressman/Senator from Massachusetts

Date: 1874

Place: Washington, D.C.

When the Narrator states your name to speak, you rise and state that "The late Matthew Arnold used to say that American public men lacked what he called 'distinction.' Nobody would have said that of Mr. Lamar. He would have been a conspicuous personality anywhere, with a character and quality of his own. He has a very interesting and very noble character."

Role Card 11

Role: William A. Wheeler—Vice-President of the United States under President Rutherford B. Hayes and President of the United States Senate

Date: January 24, 1878

Place: United States Senate

When the Narrator sits down, after giving the background on the "free silver" issue, take your place in the front of the room and write on the chalkboard, "United States Senate," and below it write, "January 24, 1878." Then state, "The United States Senate is in session. The first order of business is to discuss the "free silver issue." When Senators rise to be recognized to speak on the "free silver" issue, you only recognize Senator Lamar to speak. When he is finished, state the "Senate is adjourned until February 11." Then sit down.

* * * \

Role Card 12

Role: Speaker of the Mississippi Legislature

Date: February 4, 1878

Place: Mississippi Legislature

When Senator Lamar finishes his speech against "free silver" in the United States Senate, you go to the front of the room and write on the chalkboard, "Mississippi Legislature—February 4, 1878.

You then state, "Both houses of the Mississippi Legislature hereby instruct U.S. Senator Lamar to vote in favor of the Bland Silver Bill and use your best efforts as spokesman for Mississippi to secure its passage." Give this Resolution to Senator Lamar (It is your responsibility, as part of your Simulation responsibilities, to prepare the Resolution on paper and give it to Senator Lamar immediately upon your oral statement to the Mississippi Legislature).

After giving Senator Lamar the Resolution, return to your classroom seat, and sit down.

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Review, Summarization, and Reinforcement

1. Ask that ALL Simulation cards be returned to you after the end of the Simulation.

2. Ask students what they liked about the Simulation.

3. Ask students how the Simulation could have been improved.

4. Ask students what they learned from the Simulation.

5. Ask students what Reconstruction was.

Reconstruction was the period from 1865-1877 of readjustment following the Civil War. When the war ended the defeated South was a ruined land, its old social and economic order had collapsed. Radical Republicans in Congress enacted the Reconstruction Act of 1867 that set up five military districts in the South and made the Army authority supreme. In 1877, Radical Republican were ousted, and with the ousting all federal troops were removed from the South. During this period, in 1865, slavery was abolished. There were attempts by President Andrew Johnson to shift political control in the South from the old planter aristocracy to small farmers and artisans by disenfranchising all former Confederate officers and making certain property liable to confiscation.

6. Ask students what were "carpetbaggers."

A Southern term for Northerners who went to the South during Reconstruction. Although regarded as transients because they carried their belongings in carpetbags, most intended to settle in the South and make money there. The black vote won them important posts in Republican state governments. Those who were corrupt made the term synonymous with outsiders who profit from an area's political troubles.

7. Ask students what was controversial about the election of President Rutherford B. Hayes. Ask what role Senator Lamar played in this election.

In 1876, chosen as the Republican candidate for President, Rutherford Birchard Hayes ran against Democrat Samuel J. Tilden. In the election, the returns of South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida, and Oregon were disputed. Therefore, Congress created an electoral commission, headed by Senator Lucius Lamar, to decide the result. The Commission awarded all the disputed returns to Hayes, thus giving him a majority of one in the electoral college. Senator Lamar was heavily criticized in the South for this result (perhaps rightly so). Though he believed Tilden had really won, he believed if Tilden had been declared the winner it would have caused much dissension again between North and South.

This belief caused him to go along with the biased result of the Radical Republicans on the Commission. He believed that pacifying the North by awarding the election to Rutherford B. Hayes was definitely in the best interests of the then downtrodden South. As a "reward" for certifying Hayes the winner in the 1876 Presidential election, President Hayes ended the Reconstruction period on April 24, 1877 and the last Federal troops then left the South.

8. Ask students what the Bland Silver Bill was and why it was proposed.

The Bland Silver Bill was introduced in the United States House of Representatives by Richard Bland, the Democratic Representative from Missouri. Congressman Bland was leading the way with his bill for the free coinage of all silver brought to the Mint. Inasmuch as a tremendous spurt in the production of the Western silver mines had caused its value in relation to gold to shrink considerably, the single purpose of the silver forces was clear—easy and inflationary money, to be on near-par with gold. This Bill was very popular with Southerners and Westerners so as to pay off debts to Easterners with inflated money. The Bill easily passed, much to the unhappiness of Eastern money-lenders.

9. Ask students in what ways was Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar courageous?

10. Do you agree with all the stands that Lucius Lamar took? If not, on which ones would you have taken an opposite stand. Why?

11. Ask students what are the consequences of going against majority opinion? When should this be done? Are there times when it is better to "go along with the crowd," even if you do not agree with majority opinion? If so, under what circumstances is it acceptable to "go along with the crowd?" Under what circumstances is it better *not* to go along with the crowd? What can be the expected consequences when not going along with the crowd? Is it really worth it? Ask why or why not?

PART FOUR

Part Four includes the Simulations of George Norris and Robert A. Taft These Simulations primarily cover the period from 1910 to 1948. This was the period in which the United States was engaged in the two most destructive wars of all time—World War I and World War II.

This was the period of time in which the Senate became more responsive to the citizens of its states. This came about with the ratification in 1913 of the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution at which time the power of electing Senators was taken away from the legislatures of the states and given directly to the people. Democratization dramatically increased further with the passage in 1920 of the Nineteenth Amendment which, after 144 years, gave women the right to vote. Former male slaves were given the right to vote in 1870, fifty years earlier than women, under the Fifteenth Amendment.

Senators Norris and Taft reflected the new breed of Senators elected directly by the people. Their presence greatly increased the prestige and respect for the Senate. Both Senators Norris and Taft were masters of the legislative process, leaders of fundamentally opposed political factions and expounders, each in his own way, of great Constitutional doctrines. Each demonstrated great courage in his legislative works.

* * *

It will be helpful to Simulation participants, as well as to any audience, to have name and title identification cards that are easily visible to all. Such identification cards should be placed where the participants sit or stand for easy identification and to facilitate the Simulation.

An 8 1/2 x 11 inch sheet of heavy paper or cardboard, folded two times lengthwise, makes an acceptable identifier. Simulation participants can be asked to prepare their own identifier.

GEORGE W. NORRIS

INTRODUCTION

George W. Norris (1861-1944) was first a distinguished United States Congressman from Nebraska (1903-1913) and later a United States Senator (1914-1943). He was an "idealist, an independent, a fighter—a man of deep conviction, fearless courage, sincere honesty."

His twin "crusades" were to save the American people from the tragedies of poverty and war.

George Norris worked to reform the rules of the United States House of Representatives. In the Senate, he voted against U.S. participation in World War I. He wrote the 20th Amendment to the United States Constitution; co-sponsored the Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act, and fathered the bills (1933) creating the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA).

Senator Norris' father died when he was only four years old. While still in his teens, he provided the livelihood for his mother and ten sisters on the stump-covered farm lands of Ohio. He had an older brother that was killed in the Civil War.

George Norris started his adult life as country teacher, then became a small-town lawyer, a local prosecuting attorney, and still later a judge. He first entered the U.S. House of Representatives in 1903. He remained in Washington, D.C. for 40 years. He began his political career as a staunch, conservative Republican, but over the years gradually evolved into a liberal Republican.

George Norris is particularly noted concerning three controversial issues: the overthrow of "Czar Cannon"; his filibuster against the Armed Ship Bill in 1917; and his support for Al Smith for President in 1928.

OBJECTIVES

As participants in the George W. Norris Simulation, each student will:

1. Research the historical period in the United States from 1900 to 1940.

2. Research the specific role to which he/she is assigned *and* how the person assigned voted on each of the issues taken up in the Simulation.

3. Actively involve himself/herself extemporaneously in the Simulation. As a consequence, each student will study, learn, and understand the significance of the following:

1) The "Czar Cannon" issue.

2) The 1928 Presidential election.

3) The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) Bill.

4) The 1917 Armed Ship Bill.

5) The Norris/La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act.

6) The 17th Amendment to the Constitution.

7) The 20th Amendment to the Constitution.

STRATEGY

Introduction

Say to the students that they are to research the historical period from 1900-1940 with respect to the governance of the United States of America.

Further state for this period that students are to particularly study the life of George W. Norris, the "Czar Cannon" issue, the 1928 Presidential election, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) Bill, the 1917 Armed Ship Bill, the Norris/La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act, the 17th Amendment to the Constitution, and the 20th Amendment to the Constitution.

Tell students that their research will culminate in a Simulation, that it will be "The George W. Norris Simulation," based upon John F. Kennedy's Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Profiles in Courage*.

After students have had a sufficient number of days to study their general assignment, assign the following specific roles to those students who are most likely to best fit each role:

The Narrator (May be the Instructor, if the Instructor prefers)

John Dalzell—Republican Congressman from Pennsylvania

Walter Smith—Republican Congressman from Iowa

George W. Norris—Republican Congressman (later Senator) from Nebraska

Joseph "Czar Cannon"—Conservative Republican Congressman from Illinois, Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1903-1911

Woodrow Wilson—President of the United States of America

Thomas R. Marshall—Vice-President of the United States of America (Woodrow Wilson, President) and President of the Senate

Robert La Follette— U.S. Senator from Wisconsin

U.S. Senator from Illinois

U.S. Senator from Tennessee

A representative voice of disenchanted Nebraskans over Senator Norris' support of Al Smith for President

Ella Norris

All others

Announce to the class when the Simulation will be conducted, allowing sufficient time to research individual assigned roles.

Prepare role cards for each class member (pages from this book can be duplicated on a copy machine to save you time, should you wish). It is recommended that on the back of each role card the name of the individual assigned to the role be written in pencil beforehand. This will

save considerable time when the Simulation is conducted. Moreover, by simply erasing the names on the role cards after the Simulation has been conducted and role cards returned, they can be used over and over again without the necessity of preparing a replacement role card.

The Simulation

Ask students to "live" their roles, to become involved and to imagine themselves in the United States House of Representatives and Senate during the period 1900-1940. State, three issues will be debated.

Steps to Follow

1. Pass out Role Card 1 to the Narrator
2. Pass out Role Card 2 to John Dalzell
3. Pass out Role Card 3 to Walter Smith
4. Pass out Role Card 4 to George W. Norris
5. Pass out Role Card 5 to Joseph "Czar" Cannon
6. Pass out Role Card 6 to Woodrow Wilson
7. Pass out Role Card 7 to Thomas R. Marshall
8. Pass out Role Card 8 to Robert La Follette
9. Pass out Role Card 9 to a U.S. Senator from Illinois
10. Pass out Role Card 10 to a U.S. Senator from Tennessee
11. Pass out Role Card 11 to a representative voice of disenchanted Nebraskans over Senator Norris' support of Al Smith for President
12. Pass out Role Card 12 to Ella Norris
13. Pass out Role Card 13 to all "Senators" who do not have a specific role assigned.

The Narrator is to commence the Simulation. The class is to extempor aneously carry out the Simulation per their assigned roles, directions, and instructions on their role cards. Students should be encouraged to extemporaneously add comments and information from their research to their roles, incorporating the specific quotes assigned to them.

Role Card 1

Role: Narrator (or Instructor, if the Instructor prefers)

Time: 1910-1940

Place: The United States House of Representatives and Senate

The "Czar Cannon" Issue

(A) You begin the Simulation with an opening overview. You state, George Norris is particularly noted over three controversial issues: the overthrow of "Czar Cannon"; his filibuster against the Armed Ship Bill in 1917; and his support for Al Smith for President in 1928. **[Because the "Czar Cannon" issue has much back-and-forth dialogue, and thus could be somewhat confusing, the dialogue is arranged in alphabetical speaking order—from A-N.]**

* * * \

The overthrow of "Cannonism" broke the stranglehold which the conservative Republican leaders had held over the government and the nation. Under the "Czar," the Speaker had nearly equal power with the President and the entire United States Senate. It was a power that placed Party above all other considerations. But "one man without position," an editor commented, "against 200 welded into the most powerful political machine that Washington has ever known, has twice beaten them at their own game. Mr. George Norris is a man worth knowing and watching."
George Norris, shortly after his victory over Cannon, was elected by Nebraskans to the United States Senate.

The Armed Ship Bill of 1917

[Because the "Armed Ship Bill of 1917" issue has much back-and-forth dialogue, and thus could be somewhat confusing, the dialogue is arranged in numerical speaking order—from 1-21.]

(1) Now state: "President Woodrow Wilson is about to speak." You write on the chalkboard "February 1917, the Oval Office of the White House." Now sit down.

* * *

(3) When President Wilson sits down, you rise and state: "The House of Representatives rushed through the Armed Ship Bill of 1917 by the overwhelming vote of 403 to 13. Now the Bill is in the Senate."

* * *

(4) Erase "... the Oval Office of the White House," and replace it with the "United States Senate.. March 2-14, 1917." Then state, "Thomas R. Marshall, President of the U. S. Senate now opens Senate debate on the Armed Ship Bill of 1917."

* * * \

The Hartford *Courant* called them "political tramps," the New York *Sun* labeled 12 U.S. Senators "a group of moral perverts." The New York *Herald* predicted: "They will be fortunate if their names do not go down into history bracketed with that of Benedict Arnold."

The outraged Nebraska State Legislature, with whooping enthusiasm, passed a resolution expressing confidence of the state in President Wilson and his policies.

Next state, George Norris was saddened by the near unanimity which "my own people condemned me...and asserted I was misrepresenting my state." George Norris then made a dramatic decision of offering to resign and submit himself to a special recall election "to let my constituents decide whether I was representing them or misrepresenting them in Washington."

Then state, "Now hear Senator Norris, in his own words, read the letter he sent to the Governor of Nebraska." Now sit down.

* * * \

The Presidential Election of 1928

[Because the Presidential Election of 1928 issue has much back-and-forth dialogue, and thus could be somewhat confusing, the dialogue is arranged in sequential Roman numbers for the speaking order—from I-XIV.]

(I) During the next 11 years, Senator Norris' political reputation increased. In 1928, despite his continued differences with his own Republican Party and Administrations, he was elected Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and was considered a potential Presidential nominee. Senator Norris will now speak in his own words. Sit down.

* * * \

(VII) When Senator Norris sits down after delivering his Omaha speech urging Nebraskans to vote for Al Smith of New York for President, rise and state: "Now listen to a representative from Nebraska express the views of disenchanted Nebraskans."

Then sit down.

* * * \

Role Card 2

Role: John Dalzell—Republican Congressman from Pennsylvania

Time: January 1910—1:00 P.M.

Place: The United States House of Representatives

(C) You are Speaker Joe Cannon's First Assistant in ruling the House from the Speaker's Chair. You are to be seated in the Speaker's Chair before the Simulation begins. When the Narrator finishes his/her opening remarks, and writes the date, time, and place on the chalkboard, you rise from the Speaker's Chair and state that you are going for your daily cup of coffee and piece of pie in the Capitol Restaurant. Ask Congressman Walter Smith of Iowa to take your place in your absence.

* * * \

Role Card 3

Role: Walter Smith—Republican Congressman from Iowa and Speaker Pro-Tem

Time: January 1910

Place: The United States House of Representatives

(D) When John Dalzell leaves the Speaker's Chair, you occupy it and then recognize George Norris of Nebraska to speak.

* * *

(F) When George Norris is finished speaking, and sits down, you recognize John Dalzell to speak.

* * *

(H) When John Dalzell is finished speaking, you recognize Joe Cannon to speak.

* * *

(J) When Joe Cannon is finished speaking, and sits down, you again recognize George Norris to speak.

* * *

(L) You have no choice, under the Rules of the House, but to reluctantly call for a vote. You do.

* * *

(M) Declare the Resolution passed by a vote of 149 to 146.

[Call on Senators at large with unassigned specific roles to speak for and against the change as the Simulation proceeds.]

Role Card 4

Role: George W. Norris—Republican Congressman (later Senator) from Nebraska

Time: January 1910

Place: The United States House of Representatives

You have waited a long time in your plan to revise the dictatorial power in the position of the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Once your plan of action was conceived, you have patiently waited for your opportunity to proceed with it. This occurs when both Speaker Cannon is out of the House and when his First Assistant, John Dalzell, leaves the Speaker's Chair.

(E) When Representative Smith of Iowa takes the Speaker's Chair, you stand to be recognized. When recognized, you ask to be recognized to speak for two minutes. To the astonishment of every House member present, you extemporaneously call for a Joint Committee to investigate the Ballinger-Pinchot conservation dispute—by requiring the entire House of Representatives to appoint its members to the Investigating Committee (instead of granting the customary authority to the Speaker to alone make such selections). You state this is the democratic way to select committee members. Now formally introduce your Resolution. Then sit down.

Your action is an insurrection—the first ever attempt to limit the previously unlimited power of "Czar" Cannon!"

* * * \

(10) You are now a United States Senator. The year is 1917.

When the Senator from Illinois is finished speaking in favor of the Armed Ship Bill of 1917, you rise to be recognized by the President of the Senate. When recognized, you vigorously express your opposition to the Bill based upon the research you have done on the Bill and your strong pacifist beliefs and dangers you see for the United States, including a possible unwanted war with Germany.

You point out that President Woodrow Wilson, himself, in his reelection campaign, used the theme, "He kept us out of war." With the passage of this bill, you declare, it is an almost certainty that the United States will be dragged into war at a horrible cost of young American men's lives.

When finished making your impassioned plea against the passage of the Bill, you sit down.

****

(16) When President Wilson finishes addressing the joint session of Congress, you go over to Senator La Follette and say to him, for all to hear, "The scathing indictment by the President is a grave injustice to men who conscientiously tried to do their duty as they saw it."

****

(18) When the Narrator calls upon you to read your letter to the Governor of Nebraska, you rise and do so:

"I have no desire to represent the people of Nebraska if my official conduct is contrary to their wishes.

"The denunciation I have received....indicates to me that there is a strong probability that the course I have pursued is unsatisfactory to the people whom I represent, and it seems, therefore, only fair that the matter should be sent to them for decision.

"I will not, however, even at the behest of a unanimous constituency, violate my oath of office by voting in favor of a proposition that means the surrender by Congress of its sole right to declare war....If my refusal to do this is contrary to the wishes of the people of Nebraska, then I should be recalled and someone else selected to fill the place....I am, however, so firmly convinced of the righteousness of my course that I believe if the intelligent and patriotic citizenship of the country can only have the opportunity to hear both sides of the question, all the money in Christendom and all the political machinery that wealth can congregate will not be able to defeat the principle of government for

which our forefathers fought....If I am wrong, then I not only ought to retire, but I desire to do so. I have no desire to hold public office if I am expected blindly to follow in my official actions the dictation of a newspaper combination....or be a rubber stamp even for the President of the United States."

You then sit down.

****

(20) When the Narrator sits down, after introducing what you said to a New York audience, you rise and continue speaking to over 3,000 constituents in Lincoln, Nebraska:

"Of course, if poodledogs could have been made into soldiers that audience would have supplied a regiment....My colleagues talked two and a half hours for the bill and were called heroes. I talked one hour and a half against the bill and was called a traitor. Even though you say I am wrong, even though you feel sure I should have stood by the President, has the time come when we can't even express our opinions in the Senate, where we were sent to debate such questions, without being branded by the moneyed interests as traitors? I can stand up and take my medicine without wincing under any charge except that of traitor. In all of the English language, in all the tongues of the world, you can't find any other words as damnable as that."

****

(II) When the Narrator sits down, after stating you were considered as a potential Presidential nominee, you rise and state:

"I have no expectation of being nominated for President. A man who has followed the political course I have is barred from the office....I realize perfectly that no man holding the views I do is going to be nominated for the Presidency.

"Nor will I accept the offer of being Herbert Hoover's Vice-Presidential running mate."

Then sit down.

****

(IV) When the Narrator sits down, after describing your dilemma to support or not to support Democrat Al Smith for President, you rise and state:

"...progressives have no place to land except in the Smith camp....Shall we be so partisan that we will place our party above our country and refuse to follow the only leader who affords us any escape from the control of the [power] trust?...It seems to me we cannot crush our consciences and support somebody who we know in advance is opposed to the very things for which we have been fighting so many years."

****

(VI) "I am here in Omaha to answer my critics.

"The New York Governor has risen above the dictates of Tammany, while the techniques employed by the Republican Convention make Tammany Hall appear as a white-robed saint.

"I am traveling in very distinguished company by supporting the candidate of my opposing party. Herbert Hoover, himself, acted similarly ten years earlier. Herbert Hoover refuses to discuss the power trust, an octopus with slimy fingers that levies tribute upon every fireside. Hoover's refusal to discuss these questions is to sin by silence, when we should protest, makes cowards out of men.

"It is our duty as patriots to cast out this Un-American doctrine and rebuke those who have raised the torch of religious intolerance. All believers of any faith can unite and go forward in our political work to bring about the maximum amount of happiness for our people."

Then urge your fellow Nebraskans to vote for Al Smith as the best candidate for the interests of Nebraskans.

Then sit down.

****

(XIII) When the Narrator sits down after declaring Herbert Hoover's landslide victory, rise and conclude the Simulation with the following speech:

"It happens very often that one tries to do something and fails. He feels discouraged, and yet he may discover years afterwards that the very effort he made was the reason why somebody else took it up and succeeded. I really believe that whatever use I have been to progressive civilization has been accomplished in the things I failed to do than in the things I actually did do."

Now sit down.

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Role Card 5

Role: Joseph "Czar Cannon"—Conservative Republican Congressman from Illinois and Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1903-1911

Time: January 1910

Place: The United States House of Representatives

You rush back from the Capitol Restaurant with Representative Dalzell when he informs you that Representative Norris of Nebraska is introducing a Resolution to usurp your power over committee appointments.

* * *

(I) When you get back to the House and Representative Dalzell argues for keeping the rules as they are (and then sits down), you rise to be recognized and to also vigorously speak against Representative Norris' Resolution.

Then sit down to await the result of the votes on Norris' Resolution.

Role Card 6

Role: Woodrow Wilson—President of the United States of America

Time: February 1917

Place: The Oval Office of the White House

(2) When the Narrator declares that George Norris was elected to the United States Senate and writes on the chalkboard, "February 1917, the Oval Office of the White House," you come to the front of the classroom where you then extemporaneously state that as President of the United States, you had been determined not to get the United States involved in the war in Europe, but now it has become necessary to have a policy of "armed neutrality."

You will request legislation by Congress to arm American merchant ships so that they could protect themselves from attack, from whatever source. You point out that the Germans display unrestricted submarine warfare when American ships approach the British Isles, that American vessels are being searched, seized and sunk. You further state that allegedly, in a secret note, the German Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Zimmerman, has proposed a scheme to align Mexico and Japan against the United States. In return for its use as an invasion base, Mexico has been promised the return of its former American colonies.

Therefore, you declare, it is essential for American merchant ships to be armed to protect themselves. Return to sit in the back of the classroom.

* * * \

Role Card 7

Role: Thomas R. Marshall—Vice-President of the United States of America (Woodrow Wilson, President) and President of the Senate

Time: March 2, 1917

Place: The United States Senate

(5) When the Narrator announces that the House of Representatives has voted 403 to 13 in favor of the Armed Ship Bill of 1917, take your seat at the head of the Senate. You declare that debate is now open on the Armed Ship Bill of 1917. You then recognize Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin to speak.

* * *

(7) When Senator La Follette is finished speaking against the Armed Ship Bill of 1917, recognize the Senator from Illinois to speak.

* * *

(9) When the Senator from Illinois is finished speaking in favor of the Armed Ship Bill of 1917, you recognize Senator Norris of Nebraska to speak.

* * *

(11) When Senator Norris is finished speaking against the Armed Ship Bill of 1917, recognize the Senator from Tennessee to speak.

* * *

(13) When the Senator from Tennessee is finished speaking, you state, the long filibuster on the Armed Ship Bill of 1917 is now concluded by the Senate's just concluded adoption of closure on this issue.

* * *

(14) You then state, the President has now called both the House and the Senate into a special, joint session. I give you the President of the United States of America.

Sit down.

[Call on Senators at large with unassigned specific roles to speak for and against the Armed Ship Bill of 1917 as the Simulation proceeds.]

Role Card 8

Role: Robert La Follette— U.S. Senator from Wisconsin

Time: March 2, 1917

Place: The United States Senate

(6) When the President of the Senate writes on the chalkboard "March 2, 1917, you rise to be recognized to speak. You vigorously speak against the proposed Armed Ship Bill of 1917.

You believe this Bill will lead the United States into war against Germany. You present detailed arguments against the Bill from the research you have done on the subject. When finished, thank the President of the United States Senate, and then sit down.

Role Card 9

Role: U.S. Senator from Illinois

Time: March 2, 1917

Place: The United States Senate

(8) When Senator La Follette finishes speaking in opposition to the proposed Armed Ship Bill of 1917, you rise to be recognized to speak by the President of the Senate.

You state that you are in favor of the Bill. You vigorously argue in favor of passage of the Bill based on the research you have done on the Bill and the circumstances of 1917.

After presenting your passionate arguments favoring the passage of the Bill, you sit down.

Role Card 10

Role: U.S. Senator from Tennessee

Time: March 2, 1917

Place: The United States Senate

(12) When Senator Norris finishes speaking in opposition to the proposed Armed Ship Bill of 1917, you rise to be recognized to speak by the President of the Senate. You are not recognized at first to speak, but rise each time to be recognized until you do have the chance to speak.

You state that you are in favor of the Bill. You vigorously argue in favor of passage of the Bill based on the research you have done on the Bill and the circumstances of 1917.

After presenting your passionate arguments favoring the passage of the Bill, you sit down.

Role Card 11

Role: A representative voice of disenchanted Nebraskans over Senator Norris' support of Al Smith for President

Time: 1928

Place: Nebraska

When the Narrator sits down after stating, "Now listen to a representative of Nebraska express Nebraskans views," you rise and state the following:

(VIII) "The issue in this campaign is not the power issue but the liquor issue, and Senator Norris knows it.

"You do not represent us at all, and we members of the largest Baptist church in Omaha are very much ashamed of your attitude toward the administration.

"George Norris, you are no Republican!"

Now sit down.

Role Card 12

Role: Ella Norris

Time: 1928

Place: Nebraska

(X) When the Narrator states you will express your views on the 1928 election, you rise and say:

"I will neither vote for Smith nor Hoover. I am not following George in all this....I have always been a dry and I am not going to vote for Smith even if George does."

Then sit down after making your statement.

Role Card 13

Role: All Senators Not Assigned a Specific Role

Time: March 2, 1917

Place: United States Senate

All Senators whose last name is from A through R are to vote AGAINST any Bill or issue that Senator Norris favors. Be vocal.

All Senators whose last name is from S through Z are to vote IN FAVOR of any Bill or issue that Senator Norris favors. Be vocal.

Review, Summarization, and Reinforcement

1. Ask that ALL Simulation cards be returned to you after the end of the Simulation.

2. Ask students what they liked about the Simulation.

3. Ask students how the Simulation could have been improved.

4. Ask students what they learned from the Simulation.

5. Ask students what the "Czar Cannon" issue was about.

Joseph G. Cannon was a Congressman from Illinois and Speaker of the United States House of Representatives from 1903-1911. He ruled the House dictatorially in the interest of the "Old Guard" Republicans. When George Norris saw his opportunity in 1910, he narrowly succeeded in the passage of a bill to transfer the power of committee appointments from the Speaker to House members as a whole.

6. Ask students what the 1917 Armed Ship Bill was.

President Woodrow Wilson's early efforts to maintain U.S. neutrality were shaken by the sinking (1915) of the *Lusitania* and other German aggressions. Nevertheless, he ran for reelection in 1916 on the boast of having "kept us out of war." In 1917, President Wilson proposed the Armed Ship Bill of 1917 because German submarines were sinking unarmed American merchant ships sailing for England. The ships, supposedly, were not carrying contraband which could be used by the British (but, of course they were). The Bill to arm American merchant ships was strongly opposed by George Norris and other liberals, who reminded the President of his campaign promise of "keeping us out of war." Senator Norris, and other like-minded Senators, were fearful that with this provocative Bill, from Germany's point of view, the United States would be dragged into the war. They were right—relations with Germany continued to deteriorate and war was declared on April 6, 1917. World War I, caused the death of 10 million lives worldwide and another 20 million were injured.

7. Ask students what a "filibuster" is.

The use of extreme dilatory tactics in an attempt to delay or prevent action, especially in a legislative assembly.

8. Ask students what the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) is.

The TVA is a U.S. government-owned corporation created in 1933 to integrate development of the Tennessee River basin area. In 1940, construction of a system of multi-purpose dams and stream-generating facilities produced

relatively cheap energy. In the 1970s it started to build nuclear facilities to meet increased energy demands. The availability of low-cost power has attracted businesses to the area and improved its economic climate. TVA has also carried out programs in land conservation and health and education.

9. Ask students what the issues were in the 1928 Presidential election.

In the contest between Herbert Hoover and Al Smith there were four primary issues: farm help, public vs. private electric power, prohibition (prohibiting the sale of any alcoholic beverages anywhere in the United States), and religion. Herbert Hoover was pro farm, pro private electrical power, was a "dry" (against the legal sale of alcohol), and was a Protestant. Alfred E. Smith, was also pro farm help, but favored public power (e.g., the TVA), and was a "wet" (favored the legal sale of alcohol), and was a Catholic. Up to 1928, only Protestants had been elected President, there still existed strong prejudice against any Presidential candidate who was not of the Protestant faith. John F. Kennedy is the first and only Catholic, to date, to become President.

10. Do you believe the United States government should have ordered merchant ships to stop traveling the Atlantic Ocean in order to have kept the United States out of war? Why or why not?

11. Ask students what the Norris/La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act was.

After eight years of struggle, the Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Herbert Hoover. It was a landmark in American labor legislation. The Act specifically outlawed the "yellow-dog" contract, under which workers, as a condition of employment, had to agree not to join a union. It also forbade the federal courts from issuing an injunction against legal strikes unless they turned violent or caused "irreparable harm." By taking away from employers two powerful tools, which some of them had used with devastating effect, the Act restated and reinforced the right of working men and women to bargain *collectively* —a basic tenet of a free society. In that light, it is held by many to be the Magna Charta of organized labor.

12. Ask students what is the 17th Amendment to the Constitution.

Passed in 1913, the 17th Amendment provides for the direct popular election of Senators. Prior to the 17th Amendment, State Legislatures appointed Senators. Today, if a resignation, death, or removal for cause, of a Senator should occur, the State Governor makes an appointment until the end of the unexpired term, at which time an election is held.

13. Ask students what is the 19th Amendment to the Constitution.

Passed in 1920, the 19th Amendment guarantees women the vote in state and U.S. elections.

14. Ask students what is the 20th Amendment to the Constitution.

Passed in 1933, the 20th Amendment changed the Congressional terms of office and the inauguration date of President and Vice-President; clarified the succession to the Presidency. A good example of the succession to the Presidency is that of Congressman Gerald Ford of Michigan. Spiro Agnew was the Vice-President under President Richard Nixon. Spiro Agnew was forced to resign over bribery charges. Gerald Ford, who had been Speaker of the House of Representatives, was then elevated to the office of Vice-President. Shortly thereafter, President Nixon felt compelled to resign rather than go through impeachment proceedings over his lying to the American public over the Watergate issue. Never having been elected to *national* office, Gerald Ford became the 38th President of the United States.

15. Ask students in what ways was George W. Norris courageous?

16. Do you agree with all the stands that George Norris took? If not, on which ones would you have taken an opposite stand. Why?

17. Ask students what are the consequences of going against majority opinion? When should this be done? Are there times when it is better to "go along with the crowd," even if you do not agree with majority opinion? If so, under what circumstances is it acceptable to "go along with the crowd?" Under what circumstances is it better *not* to go along with the crowd? What can be the expected consequences when not going along with the crowd? Is it really worth it? Why or why not?

ROBERT A. TAFT

INTRODUCTION

Robert Alphonso Taft (1889-1953) was the son of the 27th President of the United States, William Howard Taft. Three times Robert A. Taft unsuccessfully attempted to obtain his Republican Party's nomination for President from his position as a United States Senator from Ohio. Senator Taft was known as "Mr. Republican" by his colleagues and the Country. He was Ohio's Senator for 15 years (1938-1953).

Senator Taft was a man who stuck fast to basic principles in which he believed even though they might well prove detrimental to his strong desire to become President.

Senator Taft was against President Roosevelt's New Deal; he was a leading advocate of isolationism before World War II. He voted against the United States being a part of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization)

He condemned President Truman's Korean War and China policies. The Conservative Republican was serving as the Senate's Majority leader at the time of his death.

OBJECTIVES

As participants in the Robert A. Taft Simulation, each student will:

1. Research the historical period in the United States from 1935 to 1955.

2. Research the specific role to which he/she is assigned *and* how the person assigned voted on each of the issues taken up in the Simulation.

3. Actively involve himself/herself extemporaneously in the Simulation. As a consequence, each student will study, learn, and understand the significance of the following:

1) World War II

2) The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial issue.

3) The 1948 Presidential election.

STRATEGY

Introduction

Say to the students that they are to research the historical period from 1935-1955, particularly with respect to World War II and its immediate aftermath.

Further state for this period that students are to particularly study the life of Robert Alphonso Taft, the "Nuremberg trial" issue, and the 1948 Presidential election.

Tell students that their research will culminate in a Simulation, that it will be the "Robert A. Taft Simulation," based upon John F. Kennedy's Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Profiles in Courage*.

After students have had a sufficient number of days to study their general assignment, assign the following specific roles to those students who are most likely to best fit each role:

The Narrator (May be the Instructor, if the Instructor prefers)

Robert Alphonso Taft—Republican Senator from Ohio

Thomas E. Dewey—Governor of New York and 1948 Republican Presidential candidate

Irving Ives—Republican Senator from New York

Democratic State Campaign Manager from New York

Jacob K. Javits—Congressional Republican Candidate from New York

Harry S. Truman—President of the United States of America

Alban Barkely—Democrat U.S Senator from Kentucky and the Democrat Majority Leader of the U. S. Senate; later Vice-President of the United States of America under President Harry S. Truman

Scott Lewis—U.S. Democrat Senator from Illinois

James Huffman—U.S. Democrat Senator from Ohio

Newspaper Columnist

All others not specifically assigned a role as Senators.

Announce to the class when the Simulation will be conducted, allowing sufficient time to research individual assigned roles.

Prepare role cards for each class member (pages can be duplicated on a copy machine from this book to save you time, should you wish). It is recommended that on the back of each role card the name of the individual assigned to the role be written in pencil beforehand. This will save considerable time when the Simulation is conducted. Moreover, by simply erasing the names on the role cards after the Simulation has been conducted and role cards returned, they can be used over and over again a number of times without the necessity of preparing a replacement role card.

The Simulation

Ask students to "live" their roles, to become involved and to imagine themselves in the United States House of Representatives and Senate during the period 1935-1955. State, three issues will be debated.

Steps to Follow

1. Pass out Role Card 1 to the Narrator (May be the Instructor, if the Instructor prefers)

2. Pass out Role Card 2 to Robert Alphonso Taft

3. Pass out Role Card 3 to Thomas E. Dewey

4. Pass Role Card 4 to Irving Ives

5. Pass out Role Card 5 to Democrat State Campaign Manager from New York

6. Pass out Role Card 6 to Jacob K. Javits

7. Pass out Role Card 7 to Harry S. Truman

8. Pass out Role Card 8 to Alban Barkely

9. Pass out Role Card 9 to Scott Lewis

10. Pass out Role Card 10 to James Huffman

11. Pass out Role Card 11 to the Newspaper Columnist

12. Pass out Role Card 12 to all "Citizens" whose last name is from A-V

13. Pass out Role Card 13 to all "Citizens" whose last name is from W-Z

The Narrator is to commence the Simulation. The class will now extemporaneously carry out the Simulation per their assigned roles, directions, and instructions on their role cards. Students should be encouraged to extemporaneously add comments and information from their research to their roles, incorporating the specific quotes assigned to them.

Role Card 1

Role: Narrator (or Instructor, if the Instructor prefers)

Time: 1935-1955

Place: The United States of America

You begin the Robert A. Taft Simulation by writing on the chalkboard October 6, 1946. Then extemporaneously present an opening overview of the man. You state, Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio was bitterly disappointed in 1940, 1948, and 1952 because he never obtained the Republican nomination for President. In 1948 he had a particularly good chance of receiving his Party's nomination, but his outspoken candor and an extremely controversial speech ruined the excellent chance he had in 1948.

That issue that did him in was an issue that could have well never been brought up—the Nuremberg Trial. Senator Taft was disturbed over the War Crimes Trial of Axis leaders after World War II, and because of this feeling, he publicly spoke out even though the trial was not a Congressional issue.

On October 6, 1946, Senator Taft appeared before a Conference on Anglo-American Heritage to give a speech entitled, "Equal Justice Under the Law."

Then state, "Now let's hear what Senator Taft has to say."

Sit down.

[At appropriate times in the Simulation, call on various citizens to speak (Role Cards 12 and 13) who have opinions on the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial.]

****

When Senator Taft is finished with his speech, and sits down, rise and extemporaneously state:

Senator Taft's speech exploded in the midst of a heated election campaign; and throughout the nation Republican candidates scurried for shelter while Democrats seized the opportunity to advance. Numerous people were outraged at Taft's remarks. Those who had fought were contemptuous of these fine phrases by a politician who had never seen

battle. Then, too, his remarks seemed particularly insensitive to Jews and other minorities, many of whom had kinfolks and friends that had been gassed at Buchenwald, Dachau, Auschwitz, Treblinka, or Majdanek.

In New York, one of the most important states in any Presidential race, and a state where politics were particularly sensitive to the views of various nationality and minority groups, Democrats were joyous and Republicans angry and gloomy.

Then announce: Governor Thomas Dewey of New York and rival to Senator Taft for the Republican nomination for President now speaks.

Then sit down.

* * * \

When Scott Lucas completes his statement, and sits down, state, "We now hear from James Huffman, United States Senator from Ohio."

Then sit down.

****

When James Huffman completes his statement, and sits down, rise and state the Ohio Toledo *Blade* had this to say on the controversy:

"...on this issue, as so many others, Senator Taft shows that he has a wonderful mind which knows practically everything and understands nothing."

Then go on by stating that the Cleveland, Ohio *Plain Dealer* newspaper editorialized that Senator Taft "...may be technically correct but turning loose on the world the worst gang of cutthroats in all history...would have failed to give the world that great principle which humanity needs so desperately to have established: the principle that planning and waging an aggressive war is definitely a crime against humanity."

Now ask "citizens" from various states to rise and give their opinions. When you have given "citizens" a chance to voice their opinions, state, "We now hear from Senator Taft."

Then sit down.

****

When Senator Taft finishes speaking, and sits down, state, "We now get a reaction from a Newspaper Columnist."

Then sit down.

****

When the Newspaper Columnist sits down, rise and extemporaneously state:

In a major upset in 1948, President Truman defeated Republican candidate Dewey for the Presidency.

The Nazi leaders were hanged, and Senator Taft and the country went on to other matters.

Senator Taft showed unhesitating courage in standing against the flow of public opinion in the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial and other controversial issues he believed in. He was proud to be labeled a "reactionary" and a "conservative" who authored these lasting definitions of "liberalism" and "liberty."

Then sit down. When you do, Senator Taft will rise and complete the Simulation.

Role Card 2

Role: Robert Alphonso Taft—U.S. Senator from Ohio

Time: 1946-48

Place: Throughout Ohio

When the Narrator introduces you, and then sits down, you give your speech:

"The trial of the vanquished by the victors cannot be impartial no matter how it is hedged about the forms of justice.

"I question whether the hanging of those, who, however despicable, were the leaders of the German people, will ever discourage the making of aggressive war, for no one makes aggressive war unless he expects to win. About this whole judgment there is the spirit of vengeance, and vengeance is seldom justice. The hanging of the eleven men convicted will be a blot on the American record which we will long regret.

"In this trial we have accepted the Russian idea of the purpose of trial—government policy and not justice—with little relation to Anglo-Saxon heritage. By clothing policy in the forms of legal procedure, we may discredit the whole idea of justice in Europe for years to come. In the last analysis, even at the end of a frightful war, we should view the future with hope, if our enemies believed that we had treated them justly in our English-speaking concept of law, in the provision of relief and in the final disposal of territory.

"The trial is deplorable. It violates the fundamental principle of American law that a man cannot be tried under an *ex post facto* statute. Nuremberg is a blot on American Constitutional history, and a serious departure from our Anglo-Saxon heritage of fair and equal treatment, a heritage which had rightly made this country respected throughout the world....We can't even teach our own people the sound principles of liberty and justice. We cannot teach them government in Germany by suppressing liberty and justice. As I see it, the English-speaking peoples have one great responsibility. That is to restore to the minds of men a devotion to equal justice under the law.

"It might be wiser that these eleven men be forced into involuntary exile, similar to that imposed upon Napoleon."

Then sit down.

* * * \

Role Card 3

Role: Thomas E. Dewey—Governor of New York

Time: 1946-1948

Place: New York.

When the Narrator sits down after describing the public's reaction to Senator Taft's speech on the War Crimes trial, you rise and state:

"The verdicts in the Nuremberg Trial were justified."

Then sit down.

Role Card 4

Role: Irving Ives—Republican Nominee for the U.S. Senate, New York

Time: 1946-1948

Place: New York

When introduced by the Narrator, rise and state:

"The defendants at Nuremberg had a fair and extensive trial. *No one* can have any sympathy for these Nazi leaders who brought such agony upon the world."

Then sit down.

Role Card 5

Role: Democrat State Campaign Manager from New York

Time: 1946-1948

Place: New York

When introduced buy the Narrator, you rise and state:

"I challenge you, Senator Taft, to come to New York and repeat your plea for the lives of the Nazi war criminals.

"The Democratic Party has a perfect right to ask if the public wants the type of national administration, or state administration, favored by Senator Taft, who indicates he wants the lives of the convicted Nazis spared and who may very well be preparing the way for a Republican propaganda campaign to commute the death sentences of the Nazi murderers."

Then sit down.

Role Card 6

Role: Jacob K. Javits—Republican Congressional Candidate, New York

Time: 1946-1948

Place: New York

When introduced by the Narrator, rise and state:

"Senator Taft, you have done a disservice to all we fought for and to the cause of future peace."

Then sit down.

Role Card 7

Role: Harry S. Truman, Democrat President of the United States

Time: 1946-1948

Place: The Oval Room of the White House, Washington, D.C.

When introduced by the Narrator, rise and state with a broad smile:

"I am content to let Senator Taft and Governor Dewey fight the matter out."

Then sit down.

Role Card 8

Role: Alban Barkely—Democrat Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate

Time: 1946-1948

Place: The United States Senate

When introduced by the Narrator, you rise and state:

"Senator Taft never experienced a crescendo of heart about the soup kitchens of 1937, but his heart bled anguishly for the criminals of Nuremberg."

Then sit down.

Role Card 9

Role: Scott Lewis—U.S. Senator from Illinois

Time: 1946-1948

Place: Illinois

When introduced by the Narrator, you rise and state:

"Senator Taft's speech is a classical example of his muddled and confused thinking and will boomerang on his aspirations for the Presidential nomination of 1948.

"11,000,000 fighting veterans of World War II will answer Mr. Taft.... I doubt that the Republican National Chairman will permit the Senator to make any more speeches now that Taft has called the trial a blot on the American record....Neither the American people nor history will agree.... Senator Taft, whether he believed it or not, was defending these culprits who were responsible for the murder of ten million people."

Then sit down.

Role Card 10

Role: James Huffman—U.S. Senator from Ohio

Time: 1946-1948

Place: Ohio

When introduced by the Narrator, you rise and state:

"A country that has suffered the scourge of modern war, lost more than 300,000 of its finest men, and spent $300,000,000,000 of its resources because of the acts of these convicted gangsters can never feel that the sentences meted out have been too severe....This is not the time to weaken in the punishment of international crimes. Such criticism, even if justified, should have been offered when the international tribunals were being set up."

Then sit down.

Role Card 11

Role: Newspaper Columnist

Time: 1946-1948

Place: Ohio

When introduced by the Narrator, you rise and state:

"It illustrates at once the extreme stubbornness, integrity and political strongheadedness of Senator Taft.

"The fact that thousands disagree with him, and that it is politically embarrassing to other Republicans, probably did not bother Taft at all. He has for years been accustomed to making up his mind, regardless of whether it hurts him or anyone else. Taft surely must have known that his remarks would be twisted and misconstrued and that his timing would raise the devil in the current campaign. But it is characteristic of him that he went ahead anyway."

Then sit down.

Role Card 12

Role: All "citizens" who do not have a specific role assigned whose last name is from A-V.

Time: 1946-1948

Place: The State in Which You Were Born

Stand and when recognized by the Narrator, you rise and state you are a loyal and patriotic American citizen (from the state where you were born), and you wish to express your opinion of Senator Taft's position on the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial. You then vigorously express your *negative* opinion of Senator Taft's position.

Role Card 13

Role: All "citizens" who do not have a specific role assigned whose last name is from W-Z.

Time: 1946-1948

Place: The State in Which You Were Born

Stand and when recognized by the Narrator, you rise and state you are a loyal and patriotic American citizen (from the state where you were born), and you wish to express your opinion of Senator Taft's position on the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial. You then vigorously express your *positive* opinion of Senator Taft's position.

Review, Summarization, and Reinforcement

1. Ask that ALL Simulation cards be returned to you after the end of the Simulation.

2. Ask students what they liked about the Simulation.

3. Ask students how the Simulation could have been improved.

4. Ask students what they learned from the Simulation.

5. Ask students how World War II came about.

Space does not allow the presentation of all the issues, but some highlights follow: World War II began in 1939 and ended in 1945. Every major power in the world was involved. On one side were the Allies (chiefly Great Britain, the U.S. and the Soviet Union) and on the other side the Axis powers (chiefly Germany, Italy and Japan). The conflict resulted from the rise of totalitarianism, militaristic regimes in Germany, Italy, and Japan after World War I (1914-1918). Partly responsible also were the humiliating peace treaties forced on Germany after World War I and the worldwide economic disorders brought on by the Great Depression of the 1930's.

6. Ask students what the "Nuremberg War Crimes Trial" issue was about.

Three classes of offenses are recognized as war crimes: crimes against peace, e.g., planning or waging a war of aggression; conventional war crimes, or violations of accepted laws or customs of warfare; and crimes against humanity, including extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts. From November 1945 To October 1946 a tribunal at Nuremberg, Germany established by Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States tried Nazi leaders and sentenced some of them to death.

7. Ask students what the issues were in the 1948 Presidential election.

As is true in most elections, the economy was a major issue. Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of New York, and known for being "tough on crime," sought the Republican nomination against Senator Robert A. Taft. Taft had an excellent chance of being selected because Dewey had been the Republican nominee in 1944 in an unsuccessful bid for the Presidency against incumbent Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was natural for Republicans to want to turn to someone to run who had not been defeated. But Taft lost the Republican nomination primarily because of his speech questioning the fairness of the Nuremberg Trial. Dewey won the Republican nomination, but in the biggest upset in any Presidential election, President Truman won the 1948 election.

8. Ask students in what ways was Robert A. Taft courageous?

9. Do you agree with the stand that Senator Taft took on the Nuremberg Trial? Why or why not?

10. Ask students what are the consequences of going against majority opinion? When should this be done? Are there times when it is better to "go along with the crowd," even if you do not agree with majority opinion? If so, under what circumstances is it acceptable to "go along with the crowd?" Under what circumstances is it better *not* to go along with the crowd? What can be the expected consequences when not going along with the crowd? Is it really worth it? Why or why not?

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